

#### SINHALESE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This, the first comprehensive account of Sinhalese society in the Kandyan Period, that is in the three centuries prior to the British occupation of the interior of Ceylon, is based on a wide range of historical data. It analyses a social order in which the village-community, the village council, caste, and polyandry were living institutions.

The author is Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Ceylon.



SINHALESE  
SOCIAL  
ORGANIZATION

THE KANDYAN PERIOD

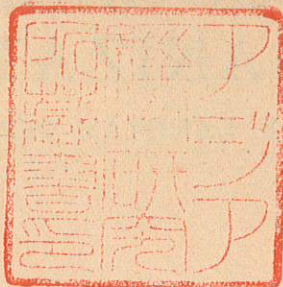
*by*  
RALPH PIERIS

THE CEYLON UNIVERSITY PRESS BOARD



30/1  
P 3

*First Published 1956.*



Printed at the Ceylon University Press  
Colombo 3.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to Mr. Julius de Lanerolle, Editor of the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary, University of Ceylon, for elucidation of the terminology of land tenure, in conversation and in a course of lectures delivered at the University of Ceylon in 1953-54, and for many valuable suggestions and comments on the first draft of the book which helped me to avoid many mistakes in the final version ; to Sir Ivor Jennings, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, for comments on the chapters on land tenure and law ; to Mr. N. E. Weerasuriya, Q.C. for reading the first draft ; to Miss Sumana Saparamadu for assistance in locating the Sinhalese sources and in compiling the glossary ; to Dr. E. R. Leach, Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge, for comments on a draft of Part VII, on the basis of his experience in the field ; to Mr. Albert Godamune of Kandy ; to Mr. K. Kumaraswamy for typing several versions of the book ; to the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, for giving me access to the Wickremasinghe Mss. ; to the staff of the British Museum Reading Room, the Public Record Office, the Royal Empire Society, and the British Library of Political and Economic Science, London ; the Ceylon Government Archives, Nuwara Eliya ; the Colombo Museum Library ; the University of Ceylon Library, Peradeniya ; to the Supervisor and the Staff of the Ceylon University Press, for their patience. The diagrams and map have been prepared by Mr. E. V. Christian, Geography Department, University of Ceylon. The diagram of Sinhalese numerals is reproduced from the Colombo Museum Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts by permission of Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, Director of National Museums.

Three years have now elapsed since the Mss. was ready for publication. A few minor revisions have been made while it was in the press.

RP

University Park,  
Peradeniya.  
July, 1956.



## CONTENTS

	Page
<i>PROLEGOMENA</i> . . . . .	3
 <i>PART ONE : GOVERNMENT</i>	
1. Kingship . . . . .	9
2. The King's Retinue . . . . .	14
3. The <i>Adhikāramvaru</i> . . . . .	19
4. Regional Devolution . . . . .	23
Appendix i. Davy's Account of the Coronation of a Sinhalese King. . . . .	27
Appendix ii. List of Kandyan Headmen compiled by D'Oyly and Gay. . . . .	30
Appendix iii. List of Inferior Offices in the Province of Sabaragamuva . . . . .	33
 <i>PART TWO : THE VILLAGE</i>	
1. Village Ecology . . . . .	39
2. The Basis of Land Tenure . . . . .	43
3. Forest and Waste . . . . .	46
4. <i>Gabaḍāgam</i> . . . . .	50
5. <i>Vidānagam</i> . . . . .	56
6. Royal Grants of Land . . . . .	57
7. <i>Nindagam</i> . . . . .	60
8. The Office Tenures . . . . .	71
9. Temple Lands . . . . .	73
Appendix i. The Paddy Cultivation Cycle . . . . .	78
Appendix ii. Ievers on <i>Hēn</i> Cultivation . . . . .	86
Appendix iii. On Sinhalese Measures . . . . .	87
 <i>PART THREE : REVENUE AND SERVICE</i>	
1. <i>Rājakāriya</i> and Functional Devolution . . . . .	95
2. The Militia . . . . .	103
3. Revenue and Economy . . . . .	110
4. The <i>Lēkam-miṭi</i> . . . . .	119
5. Wages and Rent . . . . .	124
6. Unification and Allegiance . . . . .	126
Appendix i. Account of Annual Emoluments Received by the Disāva of Sabaragamuva . . . . .	127
Appendix ii. The Four Festivals . . . . .	134



#### PART FOUR : THE LEGAL SYSTEM

1. Delicts . . . . .	143
2. Non-delictual Actions . . . . .	148
3. The Courts . . . . .	149
4. Procedure . . . . .	158
Appendix i. Conflicting Judgements by Officials . . . . .	164
Appendix ii. Translations of Palm-leaf Deeds . . . . .	165

#### PART FIVE : SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

1. "The Caste System" . . . . .	169
2. The Secularization of Caste . . . . .	180
3. Slavery . . . . .	188
Appendix i. Two Tables of Caste Precedence . . . . .	191
Appendix ii. Caste Statistics . . . . .	192

#### PART SIX : KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

1. Marriage . . . . .	195
2. The Sinhalese Kinship System . . . . .	212
3. The Family and the Crises of Life . . . . .	224
Appendix. Dickson on the <i>Godane</i> Ceremony . . . . .	229

#### PART SEVEN : AN ISOLATED PROVINCE (*Nuvarakalāviya*).

1. Central Government and Provincial Autonomy . . . . .	233
2. The Nucleated Village . . . . .	236
3. The Tanks . . . . .	241
4. Forest and Commons . . . . .	243
5. Agricultural Rights and Obligations . . . . .	245
6. Governors and Officials . . . . .	249
7. <i>Kula</i> and <i>Variga</i> . . . . .	252
8. <i>Raṭa Sabhās</i> . . . . .	254
9. Depopulation and Decline of the Dry Zone . . . . .	258
Appendix. Ievers on <i>Muṭṭi-Maṅgalla</i> . . . . .	262
A Note on Sources. . . . .	265
Bibliography. . . . .	270
Regnal Years of the Kings of Kandy. . . . .	282
Abbreviations. . . . .	283
Glossarial Index. . . . .	287

#### ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Map of Ceylon showing the Kandyan Provinces ( <i>Sinhālē</i> ) . . . . .	xiii
Agricultural implements:	
1. jungle hook or hatchet ( <i>valdākāṭṭa</i> ); 2. axe ( <i>porava</i> )	
3. mamoty ( <i>udālla</i> ); 4. plough ( <i>nagula</i> ); 5. yoke ( <i>viyagaha</i> )	
6. goad ( <i>keviṭa</i> ); 7. leveller ( <i>pōruva</i> ); 8. hand-leveller	
( <i>at pōruva</i> ); 9. sickle ( <i>goyan kapana dākāṭṭa</i> ); 10. winnow	
( <i>kulla</i> ). . . . .	83
The Sinhalese Numeral Signs ( <i>lit-lakunu</i> ) . . . . .	88
The Sinhalese Kingship System . . . . .	213
Genealogical Tables . . . . .	209, 210, 217
Arrangement of a paddy-field ( <i>Nuvarakalāviya</i> District) . . . . .	237



# CEYLON

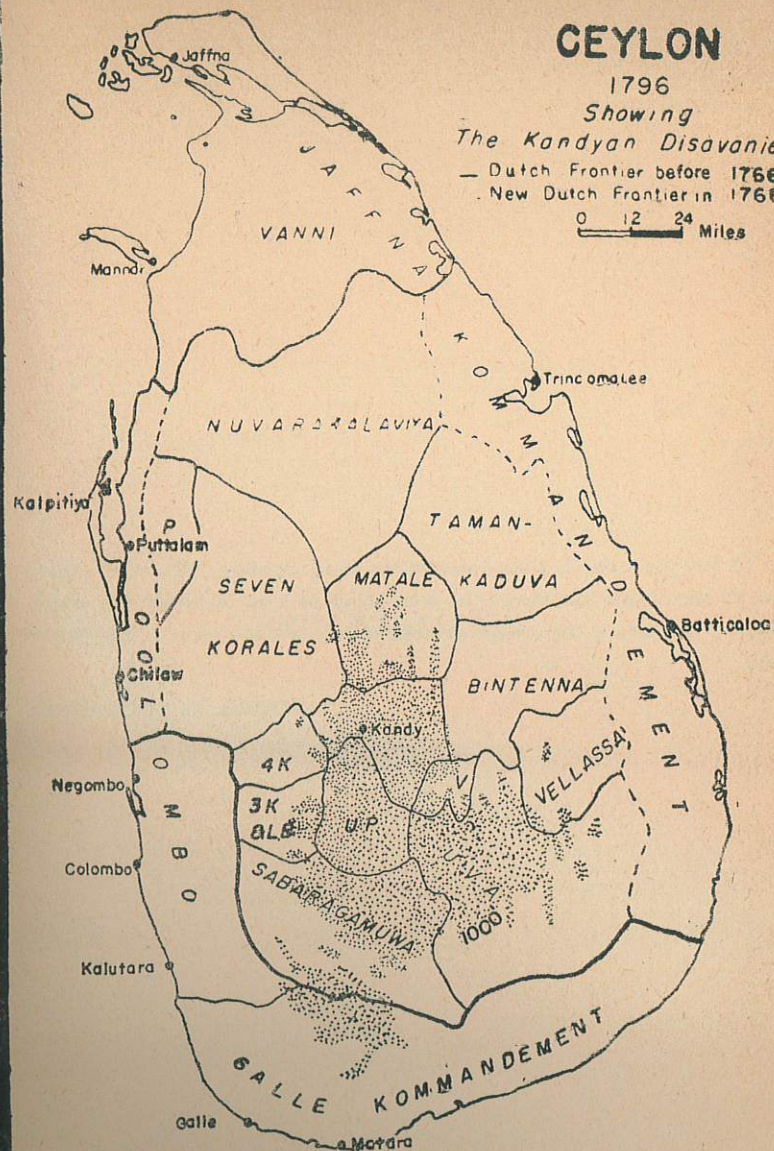
1796

Showing

*The Kandyan Disavancies*

— Dutch Frontier before 1766  
— New Dutch Frontier in 1766

0 12 24 Miles





Of late years people have invented the word *sociology*. The word *history* had the same sense and meant the same thing, at least for those who understood it. History is the science of social facts ; that is to say, it is sociology itself.

FUSTEL de COULANGES

## PROLEGOMENA



## PROLEGOMENA

ALTHOUGH the Ceylon Littoral had, since the early sixteenth century, been governed successively by Portuguese, Dutch, and British,<sup>1</sup> the Kandyan kingdom maintained its independence under the kings of Kandy<sup>2</sup> from Vimala Dharma Sūrya I (reg., A.D. 1591—1604) to the deposition of Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha by the British in 1815. The Kandyan Period marks the complete eclipse and isolation of the region of the ancient "tank"-based societies of the North-central Dry Zone and the consolidation of Sinhalese civilization in the Wet Zone highlands. The depopulation and decline of the "tank" region was not the consequence of a sudden exodus of its inhabitants, but a gradual process which had been going on ever since the thirteenth century, if not earlier, and culminated in the encirclement of the ancient cities of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa by the relentless tide of the jungle.

The capital moved to Gampola under Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1344-5.<sup>3</sup> Kandy itself appears to have been founded in the beginning of the fourteenth century,<sup>4</sup>

1. It has been plausibly argued that the majority of the low-country Sinhalese are biologically Eurasian (Sir Ivor Jennings, *The Commonwealth in Asia*, Oxford: 1951, 14). *Rājāvalīya* bewails the frequency of intermarriage in Portuguese times, when "the leading men of Kōṭṭe, coveting the wealth of the Portuguese, and many low-caste people unmindful of their low birth, intermarried with the Portuguese and became proselytes." Lacombe (1681), Schweitzer (1688), and Lord Valentia (1809), write of racial mixture in the Dutch period. In the case of the Kandyan Sinhalese there was "the very slight admixture of Tamil blood" (Parker, 1917.30), particularly in Court circles. The original Kāppiṭipolas were fullblooded Tamils who came to the Island with some Malabar king, presumably subsequent to 1739 when the Malabar dynasty was instituted, and settled in Navagomuva, near Rambukkana (R. W. Ievers, Official Diary, Kegalla, 26-9-1884, CGA 30/6). In time they were considered aristocratic 'Sinhalese,' having acquired the indigenous language, religion and customs. It is not "race" that matters but "culture."

2. *Kaṇḍa uḍa* "the country above the mountains," corrupted by Europeans to Kandy, was substituted for Senhadhagala or Maha Nuvara, the Great City. The city itself extended to a couple of square miles in the immediate vicinity of the palace, an area marked off by a ditch cut by the last king, renewing an old one, with slight alterations. The ditch was kept along the hill above Asgiri Vihāra, came down to Mahayiyāva, near the present cemetery, thence round Uḍavattakālē and on the Ampīṭiya Road, about half a mile from the head of the Lake (Dambuva Nayaka Unnanse's Evidence in the Malvatta Vihāra Land Case, *TLC*, 1857).

3. On the Gampola and Kandyan dynasties, cf. Codrington (1932) and (1933).

4. Parker (1909) 354.



and eventually became the capital (*rāja-dhāniya*) of a kingdom, the central nucleus of which, the Five Highland Countries (*kaṇḍa uḍa pas raṭa*), was practically coterminous with the modern Kandy District. The Five Countries constituted one of the three principalities into which Sēnarat (reg. A.D. 1629—1687) divided the kingdom, the others being Ūva and Mātālē. But Rājasimha II (reg. A.D. 1629—1687) contrived to unite the three principalities, “rectifying the disastrous division made by his father by poisoning one half-brother and driving out the other.”<sup>5</sup>

The interior had no doubt been invaded by the Dutch in 1765, and the deserted capital occupied by an European garrison for a few months. Yet the Kandyan Sinhalese remained, in the words of the Pāli chroniclers, “united under one umbrella.” Two factors which promoted political unity were religion and language. By the eleventh century Hinayāna Buddhism regained supremacy in the Island, and the *saṃgha* was finally purged of the Mahayāna heresies which had been in the ascendant ever since the fourth century.<sup>6</sup> And in the thirteenth century the classical grammar of the Sinhalese language, *Sidat-saṅgarāva*, brought the language to a standard, “and it remains the same in its general character up to the present time.”<sup>7</sup>

It is sometimes supposed that the surviving jungle villages of the Sinhalese Dry Zone are relics of an antique Āryan social order which, in the central Highlands, had been contaminated by the Dravidian impact of Kandyan times. This theory is not borne out by the facts, for the Dravidian “influence” long antedated the Wet Zone civilization: under Vijayabāhu I (reg. A.D. 1056-1111), “Sinhalese” civilization was still in the melting-pot, and for certain royal edicts, Tamil and Sinhalese scripts were used side by side.<sup>8</sup> If the determination of the precise nature of the Dravidian “influence” presents insuperable difficulties, data relating to the

5. Codrington (1939) 135-136.

6. cf. Paranavitana (1928).

7. Geiger (1938). The fifteenth century (Kōṭṭe Period) was the last stage of development of the Sinhalese alphabet (P. E. E. Fernando, 1950). Pāli, the language of the Buddhist texts, was unintelligible to the vulgar.

8. cf. the text of Vijayabāhu's inscription, Polonnaruwa, in Rasanayagam (1924). Also the *Report of the Archaeological Survey*, 1948. 155, 167. The presence of many Tamil words in late Kandyan times in no way implies that the referents of these expressions were imported from South India. It is almost always a case of old wine in new bottles, and corresponding terms, particularly in land tenure, appear in ancient inscriptions.

so-called “Aryanization” of Ceylon is even more fragmentary.<sup>9</sup> Hence, the reconstruction of the pre-Āryan,<sup>10</sup> Āryan, and Dravidian “layers” of Sinhalese civilization must remain a vain hope. Every civilization is an integral of many and diverse elements, for *homo sapiens* being more mobile and more widely diffused over the earth's surface than any other animal, no human community has contrived to live in prolonged and absolute isolation.<sup>11</sup>

What is important from the point of view of this study is that the fusion of elements from pre-Āryan, Āryan, and Dravidian cultures gave rise to an identifiable “Sinhalese” civilization distinct from that of any part of India. The aim of this book is to analyse this Sinhalese civilization as it existed in the Kandyan Period at the basic level of social structure. Too many studies of Sinhalese society in the past have been stimulated by a sentimental attachment to a bygone state of things as the best of all possible worlds. Such a spirit of uncritical wonderment at the spectacle of traditional culture even permeates Ananda Coomaraswamy's great classic *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*. But the interest derived from observation and analysis of structure and function, the interest which kept Santiago Ramon-y-cajal transfixed at a microscope for twenty continuous hours, watching the movements of a sluggish leucocyte in its laborious efforts to escape from a blood capillary,<sup>12</sup> can be equally exhilarating.

The unit of investigation with which this book deals is the social life of a specific region during a given period of time. From the sociological point of view, the concrete reality of that social life consists of a multitude of actions by, and relations between, persons and groups of persons. The sociologist is concerned not with relations which are fleeting and transitory, but with those which are repeated and persisting. Some of these social relations become relatively “fixed,” petrified, and these established modes of conduct are known as *institutions*. Thus the institution of land tenure consists of a set of established norms of conduct which define the

9. Sir Alexander Johnston (1832.II.), wandering into the nebulous realm of conjectural history, argued that when Vijaya colonized the Island circa B.C. 500, he introduced the same system of government, the same laws and institutions, which prevailed in the country of his origin. That social system took firm root in its new soil, and was not altered or modified in any significant degree by later conquerors. Hence the Kandyan form of government affords “a very valuable picture of one of the most ancient forms of government established in Asia.” The “historical kernel” of the Vijaya legend has been worked out by way of philological comparisons between the Sinhalese language and certain Indian dialects (cf. Shahidullah, 1933; Siddhartha, 1935; Geiger, 1938. Also Basham, 1952).

10. There is valuable data, of an inferential kind, on certain aspects of pre-Āryan culture such as folk-religion (cf. Paranavitana, 1928; Pertold, 1929 and 1930). But of subjects such as land tenure there is not a shred of evidence.

11. cf. Daryll Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society* (London, 1934) 466.

12. Ramon-y-cajal, *Autobiography* (Toronto, 1937).



relations between individuals who have interests in a particular plot of land. Likewise, marriage is an institutionalised relationship, defined and regulated by custom, law, and sentiment. A study of these multifarious social relations reveals a pattern of interrelated actions which may be described as *social organization* or *social structure*.

This study then presents a "model" of the complex social relations which constituted social structure as elements of a functioning social system. When these relations are no longer binding, the social system is said to break down, and manifestations of social disorganization, such as crime, become widespread. If, for example, the relation of lord and serf in respect of land is no longer binding, and there is no probability of a meaningfully oriented course of action by each party, then the social system which we designate "feudalism" is at an end. In the following chapters an analysis is made of the institutionalised patterns of behaviour which occurred in the unit of investigation selected, in so far as they are of structural significance to the social system. In a subsequent volume I intend to analyse the changes to which that social system was subject in the nineteenth century.

PART ONE  
GOVERNMENT



# I

## KINGSHIP

ALTHOUGH certain aspects of kingship lend support to the notion that the monarch was "supreme and absolute," a consideration of monarchy in the wider context of social organization indicates that "the acts of his government are presumed to be guided by the institutions and customs of his kingdom."<sup>1</sup> The apparently contradictory ideas of the nature of the monarchy, sometimes opined by one and the same authority, are the consequence of looking at kingship from different points of view. Thus the elaborate ceremonial observed even by the chief ministers on approaching the king, their obsequious prostrations, convey an impression of abject servility.<sup>2</sup> So also the practice of the king's immediate attendants to cover their mouths with strips of white cloth (*mukha vādan-baṇḍinavā*), to prevent the pollution of His Majesty's person. Likewise the numerous exalted forms of address and titles do not necessarily imply unlimited power, for they were arbitrarily used and illustrate the Indian love of synonyms: their choice was often decided by metre.

On the other hand, repeated references in the Pāli chronicles to virtuous kings who followed "the path of good and ancient custom," throw into relief a persistent conservatism which proved to be a strong counterbalance to the unlimited power commonly associated with kingship.<sup>3</sup> At the consecration of the first Buddhist king of Ceylon, according to the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, a representative of each of the three aristocratic castes admonished the sovereign to rule justly. "If not, may thy head be split into seven parts," an early king is warned.<sup>4</sup> Again, Niśṣanka Malla (A.D. 1187—1196) advised his subjects that only from a king chosen from the royal (*kshatriya*) caste could they expect increasing prosperity and preservation of family station and ancestral customs.<sup>5</sup> The late *Nīti-nighaṇḍuva* explains that the laws of the country were unwritten because "the king and ministers of Laṅkā, from the fact of their having been from time immemorial the descendants of the same family and from their

1. D'Oyly (1835) 1.

2. cf. Boyd's *Diary* (1800).

3. cf. Geiger, intro. to *Clv.* xv. Sir Ivor Jennings, annotating Lawrie's Mss notes, concludes: "It is clear from the authorities that the king's power was not legally unlimited."

4. *Mahāvamsa Tikā* cf. C. M. Fernando (1896).

5. *EZ*, II. 162.



intimate acquaintance with the national character and habits, were well experienced in the traditional law, and knew what was legal and what was not." In this sense the king was regarded as the repository of the traditional bases of civil order and held his throne by a tacit contract, as it were, "to be guided by the institutions and customs of his kingdom."

There is ample historical evidence that kings of yore were set apart from ordinary human beings on account of supernatural powers. They possessed what a modern sociologist aptly terms *charisma*, "gift of grace."<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the line which divides royal and priestly functions has always been a faint one. The secular king of modern times is the outcome of "a differentiation of an original genus into two species."<sup>7</sup> In Europe, Christianity spiritualized the pagan symbolism of divine kings, although even after A.D. 312 the coronation ceremony of temporal kings was continued with the addition of a religious service, so that the ritual of the deification of the reigning monarch survived after its theoretical interpretation had been finally abandoned and kings no longer gods.<sup>8</sup>

Elāra (*circa* B.C. 140) was one of those charismatic leaders of whom much was expected. On hearing a woman complain that rain fell out of season, spoiling some rice she had spread out to dry, the virtuous king reflected, "a king who observes justice surely obtains rain in due season," and by undergoing penance by fasting caused rain to fall only once a week, at night.<sup>9</sup> Again, Gaja Bāhu (A.D. 113), divided the waters of the sea in twain by striking the ocean with his iron mace, and so reached India to intimidate the Chola king by squeezing water from a fistful of sand.<sup>10</sup> The Pāli chronicles are replete with legends of the heroism of early kings whose reputations depended on charismatic attributes. Their deeds were magnified when they came to be written, and mythology and historical fact were not always distinguished by the chroniclers.<sup>11</sup> But their narratives betray the mental climate of an age in which much was expected of, or imputed to, charismatic leaders who possessed supernatural powers. Kingship was supposed to be dependent on divine sanction. In Ceylon and other Buddhist countries like

6. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*.

7. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors. An Essay in the Comparative Anatomy of Human Society* (Cairo 1936).

8. E. O. James, "The Sources of Christian Ritual and its Relation to the Culture patterns of the Ancient East" (in *The Labyrinth*, ed. S. H. Hooke. London, 1935).

9. *Mhv.* 21-27-32.

10. *Rājāvaliya*, 41.

11. Although in the *Mahāvamsa* "Ceylon first produces something remotely resembling historical work" (Spengler, *The Decline of the West*. New York 1926. I. 12).

Cambodia, "the king's godhead is much attenuated, but he is very much in touch with the gods."<sup>12</sup> Kings traced their lineage to the sun—in all probability to the sun in its capacity as regulator of the world. The conception of the sun as upholder of law and order is manifest in royal names such as Vimala Dharma Sūrya, which Hocart renders "Sun-of-the-spotless-Law." Kingship was thus related to the supernatural, the law of the nature, and the moral order.<sup>13</sup>

In consequence of the sociological process which Max Weber designates "the routinization of charisma," the ancient conceptions of kingly carisma were gradually modified, and eventually became co-extensive with custom and tradition. Charisma is then supposed to be transmissible to the heir of a reigning monarch through the medium of an elaborate coronation ceremony. Due to the absence of a rigid tradition of hereditary kingship in Ceylon,<sup>14</sup> the coronation ceremony had a great functional significance. Designed to turn men into gods, in later times it generated charisma in the chosen candidate for the throne by means of an elaborate ritual, thus legitimating his authority. From a comparative study of the coronation ceremony in various societies, Hocart concluded that the parent of all coronation rites might be roughly grouped as follows: preparation, admonition and promise, clothing,<sup>15</sup> communion, unction, investing with regalia, and procession.<sup>16</sup> Some of these elements suffer atrophy, others merge one with another. In Davy's detailed account of the coronation of a Kandyan king (Appendix 1) all these rites can be

12. Hocart, *Kingship* (Oxford, 1927) 81. It has been argued that Kassappa aspired to create an abode appropriate to a god-king in *Sigiriya* (cf. the challenging essay by Paranavitāna, 1951). Rājasimha II's arrogation of god-like attributes to himself was notorious. "As god our lord created the heavens and earth, he likewise created kings who are gods of the aforesaid earth" (Rajasimha to Van Knippenstein, 1652, in *Letters from Rājasimha to the Dutch*, ed. D. W. Ferguson, *JCBRAS.* XXI, 62, 1909). Also Knox.

13. Hocart, *op. cit.* 54. Kingship was associated with the profession and protection of Buddhism ever since Dēvānampiyatissa (B.C. 307) "consecrated the great Bodhi-tree unto kingship" (*Mhv.* 18, 67). *Rājaratnacaraya* draws the logical conclusion that "hence it follows that this island can never be governed by a king who is not of Buddha's religion."

14. According to Marshall (1846), the mere fact of birth as a valid claim to the throne "seems never to have obtained the sanction of popular opinion." Forbes (1840, I. 80) concurs that in the event of a king dying without nominating a successor, the *adikars* proposed a candidate to the chiefs and people. Pliny's claim that a childless old man was preferred to prevent the throne from becoming hereditary (*Natural History*. Bostock and Riley ed. III, 56) is unauthenticated, and Percival's (1807) that the choice was sometimes made by an elephant must on his own admission be discredited, although it is a recurrent theme in village folk-tales.

15. The Indian *satapatha brahmana* states plainly that the officiating priest at the coronation invested the king with symbolic garments which caused him to be born out of the womb of sovereignty (Hocart, *op. cit.* 77).

16. Hocart, *ibid.*



detected, the ancient ritual of admonition and response alone being atrophied.

The history of kingship in Ceylon bristles with instances of conflict between tradition and pretended charisma on the part of kings. When rulers claimed supernatural powers which they did not show evidence of, and ruled tyrannically, flouting "good and ancient custom," they were overthrown. For the Sinhalese king, on ascending the throne, had to consider himself under certain restrictions, and if he defied them, he was regarded as a tyrant whom the people were justified in dethroning. The monarch was expected to follow the example of good princes, to observe the customary laws, as well as the written rules handed down for his direction, which emphasised the qualities of justice, mercy, mildness, and patience; they also require the king to follow the Buddhist precepts faithfully, and to make his actions conduce to the good of the people.<sup>17</sup> In practice the kings were allowed considerable latitude, and their conduct depended on their individual personalities. There were "good" kings who dedicated their energies to the performance of works of merit such as the building of temples, but at the other extreme there were tyrants.

Rebellions against arbitrary authority were not infrequent, and were directed against kings who, as *Mahāvamsa* puts it, were lacking in royal pride, false to their own as well as other's welfare, and forsook "the path of good and ancient custom." There were occasions when the people, provoked by grave injustice, protested with vigour. In the reign of Parākrama Bāhu the Great (A.D. 1153—1186), "all the rebels, each in his division, roused the whole population of the country down to the very boys in open revolt."<sup>18</sup> Although there was a system of military conscription, the king's standing army was only a personal bodyguard, and even Parākrama Bāhu the Great had to depend on Indian mercenaries who were unreliable. In the abortive rebellion against Rājasimha II, in 1664, a select band of not less than two hundred souls, confidently entered the palace and planned to overthrow the king.<sup>19</sup> Besides, the king's money revenues were limited.

Consequently, some of the provincial chiefs were often powerful enough to question the king's authority. The Dādigama Slab Inscription of Bhuvaneka Bāhu VI (reg.c 1469), states that "as the inhabitants of the border provinces are acting in a hostile manner, His Majesty, the great King Bhuvaneka, started from Jayavar-dhanapura [Kōṭṭe, the seat of Sinhalese royalty in the fifteenth

17. Davy (1821), 142.

18. *Civ.* 74. 133-134.

19. Knox (1681) Pt. II. Ch. VII. For Ambanvala Rāḷa's graphic account of this rebellion to terminate an evil reign, and the seditious conferences which preceded it, cf. *JCBRAS* IV, 1955 (ed. Paulusz).

century] and, having performed the conquest of the (enemies in various) directions, arrived at the city of Dādigama in the Beligal Kōraḷa and brought the Four Kōraḷas, too, under [his] authority." The king offered a general pardon to rebels who participated in the *siṃhala samge* or Sinhalese rebellion, and made it known that they would suffer neither punishment nor loss of property if they submitted to his rule.<sup>20</sup> Under the last king, the people of Sabaragamuva did often come forward in the cause of their influential governor Āhālēpoḷa.<sup>21</sup>

20. *EZ*, III no. 29.

21. Marshall (1846), 179. In 1814, Āhālēpoḷa addressing his people made known his dismissal by the last king, "and asked whether they would suffer him to go alone, and be subjected to guilt, or whether they would assist him. The people answered with one accord that they would go with him and support him." He thereupon decided to proceed to Kandy against the king, collecting on his way the inhabitants of Three and Four Kōraḷas (D'Oyly to Brownrigg, 1-5-1814, *PRO.CO* 54/52)



## II

THE KING'S RETINUE <sup>22</sup>

THE palace service was distinct from the public or district service. Even the chief ministers or *adhikāramas* of the latter service, despite their extensive criminal jurisdiction, were not empowered to impose corporal punishment, fines, or imprisonment upon any persons attached to the king's immediate serve. One of the notable features of late Kandyan government was the hypertrophy of palace officials who enjoyed service lands (*baḍavūḍili*) for performing the minutest duties. The discrepancies in the various lists of palace officials indicates that the composition of the king's retinue was not always the same. The following were the principal palace officials.<sup>23</sup>

1. *gajanāyaka nilamē* who headed the annual *perahāra* procession as head of the people in charge of the royal elephants. A subordinate officer called *kuruve lēkam* was chief of the people responsible for capturing elephants, and kept the register of this "department."
2. *maha lēkam mahatmayā* commanded the *lēkam* department,<sup>24</sup> and had under him a *lēkam muhandiram* and certain petty officers. They carried messages and conveyed orders.
3. *maha diyavaḍana nilamē* was in charge of the royal bath (*ulpāngē*) and it was his duty to wash, comb, and dress the king's hair after the bath. He appointed under him, with the king's approval, ten *saṭṭambis* and ten *paniviḍa-kārayō* or messengers. The former acted as petty chiefs of the people attached to the bath, numbering about 500 families, and remained constantly in Kandy, two *saṭṭambis* being required to be in constant attendance in rotation (*mura*) at the palace. Sometimes the *nilamē* poured the bath water which was carried by a *saṭṭambi* but usually a *saṭṭambi*.

22. Sources : B.C. 5 & 6-10-1818 (CGA. 21-111) ; Davy (1821) 149-157 ; D'Oyly (1835) passim ; Lawrie Mss. ; Marambe (1921).

23. That is, those on duty or in residence at the palace. In some of the lists of palace officials, some of the state officials are included. The List of Kandyan Headman drawn up by D'Oyly and Gay is reproduced in Appendix 2.

24. Davy states that this was originally a military department. But a *lēkam* is really a scribe, and from the flag of the *maha lēkam mahatmayā* which bore a *lēkam-miṭṭiya* or register and style, it seems probable that the *lēkam*-ships were essentially secretarial departments, whose personnel were in charge of the Land Registers &c. (On the flags cf. Bell. 1892. 126).

4. *haluvaḍana nilamē* was in charge of the king's wardrobe and attended the king when dressing. The dressing-room (*halu maṇḍape*) being adjacent to the *ulpāngē*, the *diya-vaḍana nilamē* performed the duties of bathing and dressing indiscriminately. Either of these officers combed the king's hair after his bath, and anointed him with *bēt-tel* prepared for the purpose at the *bētḡē*.
5. *maha hūtapenageyi muhandiram nilamē* was in charge of the *appuhāmis* or gentlemen-in-waiting. He had under him a *lēkam-mahatmayā* and a *kankāṇam nilamē* : the duty of the former was to take care of the king's jewels in ordinary use, while the latter commanded the guard of *appuhāmis* about the king, under the direction of the *muhandiram*.
6. *atapattu maḍuvē muhandiram nilamē* also commanded forty-eight *appuhāmis* who awaited in the *atapattu maḍuva*, a room near the king's apartment, and conveyed his messages and carried his Golden Arms in public.
7. *ranāyudha maḍuvē lēkam mahatmayā*, with the aid of forty-eight *appuhāmis* kept a register of the Golden Arms room in the palace, and saw that the arms were preserved in repair by the different kinds of smiths attached to the *maḍuva*.

Persons attached to any of the above three *murapola* were known as *duggannarālas*, loyal officers who would sacrifice their lives for the king.<sup>25</sup> They tasted any food served to the king, to make sure it had not been poisoned. They were always in waiting on the king, and would ask permission to go to their villages in case of emergency. The *appuhāmis* were sons of the leading aristocratic families, were respected as the king's courtiers, and were best qualified for promotion to high offices. They were exempt from the authority of the chiefs, and enjoyed their lands free of all *disāvani* (*lēkam*) or *raṭa* service, only paying *kat-hāl* or pingo-duty to the *gabaḍāva*. At times, when several of a family attended as *duggannarālas* three or four villages were exempted from service. Sometimes, by great favour, the *kat-hāl* was remitted, but if the remission was made by verbal order of the king and not registered in the *lēkam-miṭṭiya*, the exemption was only temporary. One man in the village of each *duggannarāla* was exempt from state service, and he had instead to cultivate the *duggannarāla*'s lands gratis, watch and repair the *valavva* and garden, or furnish rice and send it to Kandy.

25. From *duk*=sorrow, *dukḡānvili*= "bearing the sorrows of the king." In the rebellion of 1664 against Rajasimha II, it is said that a *duggannarāla* of the Aluvihāre Vanisēkera Mudiyanse family, occupied his bed and was hacked to death. I owe this information to Mr. Lanerolle.



The *duggannarālas*, like the persons in attendance at the king's bath and dressing room, and dining room, constantly covered their mouths with a white cloth (*mukha vādan-bāṇḍinavā*) to prevent pollution of His Majesty's person. At all the above *murapala*, the shift of each pair of persons on duty was changed at the end of each of the eight *jāma* or periods into which the day and night were divided : the first *jāma* of the day was from daylight to the end of the eighth hour ; the second from then to the end of the fifteenth hour or noon ; the third from noon to the end of the seventh hour ; and the fourth from the end of the seventh to the end of the fifteenth hour. The *jāma* of the night were likewise of 8, 7, 7, and 8 hours duration. Half the number of persons belonging to each *murapala* slept there every night, two being constantly on duty at night ; by day there were only one to three at the *murapala*.

8. *maha aramudalē vaṇṇaku nilamē*, the king's grand treasurer. He had five *lēkams* and five *kankānis* under him, appointed by the king and all honoured with the honorific *mahatmayā* or *nilamē*. " They were the king's receivers and paymasters-general, and had charge of all the royal treasuries, of which they were required to keep the strictest and the greatest care. There were no people attached to them ; when they wanted any, they had to make a requisition for men to the officer of the guard on duty " (Davy).
9. *mahagabaḍā nilamē* (see under *gabaḍāgam*).
10. *uḍagabaḍā nilamē* (see under *gabaḍāgam*).
11. *palle vāhala gabaḍā nilamē* (see under *gabaḍāgam*).
12. *koḍituvakku lēkam* commanded the king's artillerymen, about one hundred strong.
13. *bondikkula lēkam*, chief of the department instituted by the last king for the royal iron cannon.
14. *maḍuvē lēkam*, commander of the guards who kept watch at the posts around the capital, armed with muskets.
15. *sudaliyē muhandiram nilamē*, and *māruvaliyē muhandiram nilamē*, each commanded a class of gladiators. The whole country was divided between the adherents of the two factions *sudaliyē* and *māruvaliyē*. The former bloody combat was discontinued as it gave rise to quarrels and feuds amongst the people. Of each set of gladiators there were ten *maitres d'armes* in different parts of the country, who taught the art of gladiatorial combat.

16. *bētge muhandiram nilamē* was chief of the king's physicians, numbering about fifty. He superintended the medical stores, to which forty attendants were attached whose task it was to collect medicinal plants and dispense them into *bēt*. The physicians specialised in the treatment of various ailments, some attending to diseases of the eye, others to treatment of boils, and some to the removal of charms. Some of the doctors were taught the art of medicine by the *bētge muhandiram* in Kandy, but others were country practitioners summoned to the palace on account of their reputation for learning and skill. Only the chief physician could come into the king's presence, and only in emergencies were they allowed to see the queens, prescriptions being prepared for the disease as it was described to them. Presents were made to the doctors only when they accomplished a cure.
17. *batvaḍana vaṇṇaku nilamē* was the king's caterer. He had under him two *madappurālas* or culinary assistants and several *pihanarālas* ; the former arranged the king's table, the latter were master cooks. The *batvaḍana nilamē* helped the king, using cutlery, while His Majesty ate with his fingers off a fresh plantain leaf placed on a plate.<sup>26</sup>
18. *piyanda karana nilamē* prepared betel (*dalumura*) for the king.<sup>26</sup>
19. *kūnam maḍuvē lēkam mahatmaya* were two officers who superintended the king's palanquins, and were constantly required to be at his service. Ten *saṭṭambis* were appointed under them, who did duty in rotation, in pairs. The bearers of the palanquins, numbering three or four hundred families were under their orders.
20. *aspaṃṭiya muhandiram nilamē*, master of the horse, with several subordinate officers, was in charge of the royal stables. The king usually rode a white horse.
21. *suduharak paṃṭiye muhandiram nilamē* was entrusted with the care of the king's white cattle imported from India, and much valued for their colour.
22. *paṭṭividāna nilamē* was in charge of the king's cattle in general in different parts of the country under the care of the *paṭṭiya* people.
23. *nāṭum ilaṃgamē muhandiram nilamē* was in charge of the king's troupe of dancers.
24. *kavikāra maḍuvē muhandiram nilamē* directed the king's singers.

26. cf. Pohath-kehelpannala (1895).



25. *vāhala ilaṃgamē muhandiram nilamē* commanded the company of magicians and acrobats.
26. *tambōru purampettukāra muhandiram nilamē* commanded the king's drummers and trumpeters.
27. *siṃhakkāra muhandiram nilamē* was in charge of the king's drummers.
- \*28. *dunukāra lēkam*. "Chief of the archers. After this office was abolished the people of that Department supplied turmeric to the king's" (Lawrie).
- \*29. *nānayakkāra lēkam*, chief of the royal emissaries.
- \*30. *paḍikkāra nilamē* was in charge of the paid soldiers.
- \*31. *vedikkāra lēkam*, chief of the artillery.

\* These are not enumerated by Davy, (1821) but are included among palace officials by Lawrie and Marambe.

## III

THE ADHIKĀRAMVARU<sup>27</sup>

THE KING'S ministers, *adhi-kāramvaru* were honoured with the title *maha nilame*, Great Officer. At one time there were said to have been four ministers, "one to attend the king, one to take care of the city, one to administer justice, and one as minister of war."<sup>28</sup> Prior to Rajasimha II there was only one minister; Rajasimha added another, and a third was instituted by the last king. The two chief *adhi-kāramas* had equal powers within their respective jurisdictions, but the first *adhi-kārama* enjoyed precedence. When one was absent from Kandy, his ministerial duties devolved upon the other. Their tenure of office was for a year, but they could be reappointed. Each *adhi-kārama* paid an annual *dākuma* of 500 *ridis* to the royal treasury, in consideration of the privileges and emoluments they enjoyed.

The police of the Great City was in charge of the two *adhi-kāramas*, and for this purpose Kandy was divided into two parts by a line drawn notionally through the middle of the street called *svaṃṇa kalayāna vidiya*, the Northern division being under the orders of the first *adhi-kārama*, and the Southern under the second. They had two *hiragē kankāṇams* as police officers under them.<sup>29</sup> The *adhi-kāramas* also possessed a general jurisdiction of a limited nature over the whole of the Kandyan provinces which were partitioned for the purpose between them, as follows: Seven Kōraḷēs, Ūva, Mātālē, Valapanē, Vellassa, Bintānna, Nuvarakalāviya, Tamankaḍuva, Hārispattu, Dumbara and Hēvāhāṭa were subject to the authority of the first *adhi-kārama* while Four Kōraḷēs, Three Kōraḷēs, Sabaragamuva, Uḍapālāta Uḍunuvara, Yaṭinuvara, Tumpanē, Kotmalē and Bulatgama were subject to the second *adhi-kārama*. In the provinces subject to their authority, the *adhi-kāramas* had jurisdiction in difficult civil and criminal cases which were referred to them by the chief of a province or department, or by the litigants, and they could either decide these suits themselves or refer them to a higher authority. The *adhi-kāramas* also had the exclusive power of granting swearing-decrees (*divi siṭṭu*) for deciding cases by the ordeal of boiling oil, as well as of granting written decrees called *siṭṭu* to persons residing in districts within their jurisdiction.

27. For the judicial powers of the *adhi-kāramas* see post 4 (3)

28. Davy (1821) 144.

29. Within a few years of the last king's reign the two *kankāṇams* were replaced by four *vidiye āracīs* (D'Oyly, 1832. 3).



The first *adhikārama* derived his distinctive name—*pallegampahē adhikāram mahatmayā*—from the five principal villages situated nearer Kandy, including Ampitiya, which belonged to his office, while the second, *uḍagampahē adhikārama mahatmayā*, had five principal villages, including Haloluva and Pērādeniya.<sup>30</sup> The inhabitants of these villages were :

1. *Kaṭubullē* messengers who conveyed the *adhikārama*'s orders and summoned persons required to attend them. Thus a dispute between officials of the Alutnuvara *dēvāla* and four families of dancers holding temple lands had been heard and decided by the *disāva*, but on a complaint to the king made by one party, *kaṭubullē* messengers were sent from Migastānne *Adhikārama*'s *valavva*, and the *dēvāla* chiefs and tenants, together with their Land Rolls, were brought to Kandy and the case inquired into by the *maha nilame* in the porch of the king's gate.<sup>31</sup> Persons could be imprisoned in *kaṭubullē* villages and we read that a man who disturbed possession of a field contrary to decree was sentenced for fifteen days in a *kaṭubullē-gama*.<sup>32</sup> Each *adhikārama* sent his own *kaṭubullē* officers to the districts within his jurisdiction, but when urgent orders were sent, or when a first had been disobeyed, two messengers representing each *adhikārama* were dispatched together.

As emblem of office the *kaṭubullē* officers carried a silver-headed cane curved at the top, "the crooked end uppermost, which none but they dare carry" (low-caste persons attached to the *kaṭubulla* used a straight cane). "The sight of which staves, upon what message soever they be sent, signifies as much the *adhikārama*'s Hand and Seal. If the *adhikārama* be ignorant in what belongs to his place and office, these men do instruct him what and how to do."<sup>33</sup> When they carried the king's orders to a *disāva* or Governor residing in his Province they received, besides provisions, five *ridi* in token of respect. They were furnished with provisions wherever they went, and except in the residences of persons of rank, a stool or elevated place was spread with a white cloth, and their cane deposited thereon whilst they remained. The *kaṭubulla* people were constantly on duty, part at the palace, and part at the *adhikārama*'s *valavva*, relieved every fortnight with their headmen,

30. Davy (1821) 143-144, mistakes the situation of these villages. I take it that the *uḍgampahē* ("five high villages") situated nearer the river alongside the present Pērādeniya Road, were at a higher elevation than the *pallegampahē* or five low-lying villages nearer Kandy. Several lesser villages were attached to a principal *kaṭubullē* village like Pērādeniya.

31. BJC. 25-9-1817. (CGA 23/3).

32. BJC. in *Unambuve Banda vs. Polvatte Rāla* 4-10-1817 (CGA 23/3).

33. Knox (1681), 79.

who were styled *kōraḷē āccila*. *Kaṭubulla* people delivered certain pingo-dues (*kat-hāl*) annually to the *maha gabaḍāva*.

2. *kasakāra* people or whip-crackers who cracked lashes before the king and the *adhikārama* when they travelled on the streets, were of the same class and performed duties in the same manner as the *kaṭubulla*, in rotation.

The *pallegampahē* villages of *kaṭubulla* and *kasakāra* people were divided into three divisions, and the people attended in rotation with their *kōraḷē āccila* according to these divisions, each division having fifteen days of service, and thirty of rest. Such persons of each division as failed to attend, paid one *ridi* each : of the total so collected, the *kōraḷē āccila* was allowed two *ridi*, and the balance was the perquisite of the *adhikārama*. The *pallegampahē kōraḷē āccila* were nominated by the *adhikārama* from certain *kaṭubulla* families, and paid from five to fifteen *ridi* each for the appointment.

The *uḍagampahē* villages of *kaṭubulla* and *kasakāra* people were grouped into four divisions and the people attended on duty accordingly in rotation, having fifteen days of service and forty-five of rest. Absentees paid a half *ridi* each, of which two were allowed to the headman, the rest to the *adhikārama*. The *kōraḷē āccilā* were appointed annually and paid 10 *ridi* each.

3. *Rākavallu* were the guards at the *maha hiragē* or Great Prison. They had general charge of prisoners and executed criminals condemned to death. *Rākavallu* of *pallegampahē* and *uḍagampahē* served alternately, relieved every fifteen days with their headman, called *durayā*. They were under orders of a *hiragē kankānam* appointed annually from the *kōraḷē āccila*.
4. At Alutgama, a *pallegampahē* village, there were one *binna āraci* and thirty-two men who performed no public duties but paid certain dues to the *adhikārama*. A part of them were liable for occasional work. There were two *hēvā durayō* and sixteen men in two *uḍagampahē* villages who performed certain menial services under the second *adhikārama*.

The *maha hiragē* and the ferries were in the *adhikārama*'s charge. The ferry duties were performed by neighbouring families who paid the *adhikārama* in whose charge the ferry was an annual fee ranging from ten to six hundred *ridis* and a smaller fee ranging from five to two hundred *ridis* to the *hiragē kankānam*, in consideration of profits. A fee of two *ridis* paid on discharge by prisoners went to the *adhikārama* in whose jurisdiction the prisoner was resident.

The *adhikāramas* were entitled to various honours and privileges, such as the cracking of whips when they went abroad, and due



homage from the people. None below the royal family could sit while an *adhikārama* was standing, nor could a person ride on an elephant, horse, or in a palanquin while an *adhikārama* was on foot, and all persons were obliged to give way to the ministers as they passed. But *adikars* could not use tom-toms in Kandy or in provinces outside their jurisdiction. The *adhikāramas* also had a right to certain exclusive items of dress, which they jealously guarded against infringement, particularly the four-cornered state hat with the *dāti* and *malgaha* in gold.<sup>34</sup>

The king's orders for performing public works at the palace or elsewhere were usually conveyed to the proper authorities through the *adhikāramas*. They were also responsible for the conduct of public festivals, the repair of temples, the capturing of elephants, the repair of streets, the cleanliness and beauty of the capital, and in supervising these public works the *adikars* were empowered to punish or imprison any provincial headman for neglect or disobedience, e.g. tardiness in sending men from his district for public service in Kandy.

When lawsuits of importance were heard by the king, the *adhikāramas* were present. They held the first seats in the *maha naḍuva* or Great Court of Justice. They had the exclusive power of causing punishment to be inflicted with the cane, and all sentences of corporal punishment were executed in their presence. The *adhikāramas* granted swearing-olas and written decrees of decision (*sittu*), and grants of land by the king's order were signed by either of the *adhikāramas*. In land suits they had the power to sequester land or crops.

"For a better support of their Dignity, a *disāvanē* is usually conferred upon each *adhikārama* and sometimes other offices, in which case besides the foregoing they perform all the Duties and enjoy all the Honours, Privileges and Emoluments of a *disāva* or such other officer."<sup>35</sup> Āhālēpoḷa, the first *adhikārama* of the last king was *disāva* of Sabaragamuva, while his predecessor Piḷima Talavva governed Seven Kōraḷēs.

34. For details *vide* Codrington (1910) 22-23. The four-cornered state hat of the *adhikāramas* is preserved in the Colombo Museum.

35. D'Oyly (1835), 6, Much of this information is from this source.

## IV

## REGIONAL DEVOLUTION

THE KANDYAN kingdom consisted of twenty-one divisions of which the twelve principal ones were called *disāvanē* (*disāvanaya*) or province, placed under the authority of a governor or *disāva*,<sup>36</sup> while the majority of the others were known as *raṭa* or districts, and were controlled by *raṭē mahatmayō*.

The *disāvanēs* were:

Four Kōraḷēs  
Seven Kōraḷēs  
Ūva  
Sabaragamuva<sup>37</sup>  
Mātalē  
Three Kōraḷēs  
Valapanē  
Uḍapalāta  
Nuvarakalāviya  
Vellassa  
Bintāna  
Tamankaḍuva.

Within their provinces the *disāvas* possessed both judicial and executive (civil and military) authority. They collected and sent to Kandy the king's revenues, sent men for public services, principally to Kandy, furnished timber for public service, e.g. the construction of public buildings, maintained and opened roads, and built rest-houses (*tānāyam*). The *disāva* was the proper person to decide land cases in his district.<sup>38</sup> He paid an annual *dākuma* into the king's Treasury in consideration of the services and dues to which he was entitled in his province. It was customary for the king to present a *disāva* with an elephant or horse on appointment.<sup>39</sup> His tenure of office was for a year, but he could be reappointed. When a *disāva* entered his province he could ride in a palanquin, but not when attending the King.<sup>40</sup> On entering his *disāvanē* and when arriving at or departing from a resthouse, a salute of *koḍituvakku* was fired. Banners called *maha koḍi* and *delkoḍi* constituted part of

36. This term was also used for the district, but to avoid confusion is restricted to the office.

37. The *disāvanē* of Sabaragamuva was separated from Ūva in the reign of Rājasiṃha. *Malweria vs. Demodera Mohottala* BJC. 25-9-1817 (CGA 23-3).

38. BJC. 22.3.1820, in Lawrie Mss.

39. Minute of Agent, Ruvanvāla, 23.3.1815 (CGA. B-262b).

40. RCD. 17-11-1818 (Lawrie Mss.).



their paraphernalia of office. The *vihāra*, *dēvāla*, *ninda*, and *gabaḍā* villages, and sometimes the *kūruvē* and *maḍige* people were exempt from their jurisdiction, except on extraordinary occasions, when the inhabitants of these villages were summoned for military service or for important public work. Thus the last king made use of temple people to dredge the Lake.

The following smaller divisions of the kingdom, situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Kandy were (with the exception of the two last) designated *raṭa* :

Uḍunuvara  
Yaṭinuvara  
Tumpanē  
Hārispattuva  
Dumbara  
Hēvāhāṭa  
Kotmalē  
Uḍa Bulatgama  
Pāta Bulatgama.

The *raṭēmahatmayās*, as they were colloquially styled, bore the title *raṭērāla* at court.<sup>41</sup> These chiefs were of high families, but they had lesser rank than the *disāvas*. They must be distinguished from the minor headman under the *disāva*, bearing the same title *raṭērāla* in Ūva, Mātālē and other provinces. The *raṭēmahatmayās* were independent of the *disāvas*, and their duties were alike, but less responsible than those of the *disāva*. Their jurisdiction was parallel to that of *lēkams*, principals of temples and chiefs of Departments. They could hear all civil cases among their subjects. They could dispossess of land and give a written *vaṭṭōru* addressed to the headman reciting the decision and ordering possession to be vested, but they could not grant *sīṭṭu* of decision to and from the *disāva*.<sup>42</sup> The *atapattu mohottāla* commanded the *atapattu* people, composed of the best *raṭē* families who constituted the *disāva*'s bodyguard, thirty or forty of them being on attendance on him wherever he went. The *koḍituvakku mohottāla* was in charge of the artillery of the district and of the low caste *paduvās* whose duty it was to carry the *ginjals*. Finally there was the *valavva mohottāla* a sort of private secretary who was in charge of the chief's manor and personal estates.

The nature of a *kōraḷē* (territorial division) and a *kōraḷa* (officer) is much confused, and can be best understood by taking a specific case. Thus the province *Four Kōraḷēs*, as described by D'Oyly, was

41. Lawrie states that the title *raṭēmahatmayā* was comparatively modern the older title being *raṭērāla* or *rālahāmy*. Certainly Knox (1681) refers only to "Roterauls" i.e. *raṭērālas*.

42. Wright (1818).

composed of four divisions or *kōraḷēs*, each subdivided into *pattu*: Galboḍa *kōraḷē*, for instance, had five *pattu*, including Galboḍa *Pattuva* which had three officials—a *kōraḷa*, *kankānāma*, and *atukōraḷa*. It will be noticed that in D'Oyly's description of Four *Kōraḷēs*, the *kōraḷas* or officials are chiefs of people in the *pattu*, and not chiefs of the divisions which bear their name. It seems probable that the chief of the *kōraḷē* was at one time the *kōraḷavidāna* described by Knox ("Courlividani") as representative of the *disāva*, whose chief business was "to wrack and hale all that may be for his Master, and to see good Government" &c. When the military *mohottā-rālas* took on civil jurisdiction as *mohottālas* they probably replaced the *kōraḷavidānas* of the mid-seventeenth century. The *kōraḷas* thereafter became subordinates of the *mohottāla*, having jurisdiction not over the *kōraḷē* itself, but over certain classes residing in the *pattu*. The *kōraḷa*'s duties were to collect revenues of the villages in their *pattu*, attended to general administrative matters, and in so doing acted in their limited sphere much the same part as the *disāvē mohottāla*, to whom they were responsible.<sup>43</sup>

The *kōraḷagam* are equally misunderstood. They can be negatively defined as villages other than *ninda*, *gabaḍā*, and temple villages. The inhabitants of *kōraḷagam* were proud of the fact that they were "free," that is, that they were not *nilakārayō* to anyone, unlike the people of *gabaḍā* and other villages. In Sabaragamuva these *kōraḷa* people under the authority of the *kōraḷas* consisted of *paṭabāndi* or *gamvasamkārayō*, *hēvārasam* or military personnel, *durukāra*, and *durayā* people—inferior, no doubt, from the point of view of caste and rank, to the *atapattu* people, but nevertheless free men not serfs.<sup>44</sup> Not all the inhabitants of the *kōraḷēs* were subject to the *kōraḷa*, who was only one among many officers in each *kōraḷē* having charge of specific classes of people—the *atapattu* people were subject to their own *lēkam*, while the smiths were under a *hangidiyā*. But the *kōraḷas* had jurisdiction over most, if not all inhabitants of *kōraḷēgam*.<sup>45</sup>

The *vidāna* was chief of the *vidānagam* which were controlled by the *disāva* of the provinces in which they were situated during his tenure of office. As village proprietor he derived a grain revenue from what were known as *mutteṭṭu* fields and exacted personal services from the villagers gratuitously, besides fees and fines.<sup>46</sup> The *vidāna* attended to the police of his village, executed the

43. Davy (1821), 146.

44. cf. Wright (1818). Hence the boast of some Kandyan villagers even today : *api kōraḷa minissu*, "We are *kōraḷa* people."

45. The details in this and the preceding paragraph are nowhere explicitly stated, but *vide* Wright (1818) and hints in D'Oyly (1832), Davy (1821), and Bell (1892).

46. Wright (1818).



*disāva*'s orders, and superintended the erection and preservation of resthouses (*tānāyam*) for the reception of high officials. Other provincial officials were *kankānams* or overseers, petty officers who assisted in the collection of revenues ; the *kōrāḷa ā'ccilā*, a sort of constable ; the *liyana-rāḷa*, Secretary or Writer ; the *manannā* or measurer. In Knox's time there was an *undiyā*, "a word that signifieth a lump. He is a Person that gathers the King's Money : and is so styled because he gathereth the King's Monies together into a lump."<sup>47</sup>

Since the entire governmental apparatus was bound up with the land tenure and revenue system, a more detailed consideration of state administration is made in Part III. It may be mentioned that the division of a book dealing with social organization into chapters makes some amount of overlapping inevitable, and even desirable, for the artificial divisions of the book tend otherwise to obscure the fact that the various parts of the social system are functionally inter-related.

47. Knox (1681) 82.

## APPENDIX I

### DAVY'S ACCOUNT OF THE CORONATION OF A SINHALESE KING\*

ON THE DEATH of a king, the ministers having issued a report that his majesty was ill, they assembled to deliberate respecting his successor, and to send orders for the principal people of the *raṭas*, who were entitled to be consulted on the election of a new monarch, to appear at Kandy.

Having come to a determination, the ministers directed a guard to be mounted before the house of the successor whom they had chosen ; and this was the first public intimation of the important business in agitation. Their next step was to collect the chiefs, and inform them that the king was ill, and that it was right to be prepared for the worst that might happen. If there were an heir to the throne, about whose succession there could be no dispute, the chiefs remarked, "Such an one is heir apparent, we need not be consulted ;" —if not, they observed, "We leave it to the *maha-nīlamēs* to make choice of a proper person." Then the *adhikāramas* named the successor they had in view, and obtained the unanimous consent of the chiefs to his election.

Having done with the chiefs, they applied to the people of the different districts, sending for those of each district separately, and telling them the same story about the sickness of the king, and the necessity of being prepared for the event, should it prove unfortunate. The people, paying the greatest deference to the ministers, would remark :— "If there is a regular successor, we need not be consulted ; and if not, the *maha-nīlamēs* are the best judges of the prince who is most likely to make a good king." Then the prince selected was described, and one of the people of each district was sent to see him, that he might be known again, and they might be able to guard against future imposition.

The plot now opened fast ; the chiefs were assembled in the hall of audience, and the people were collected before the hall. The ministers came forward and informed the assembly that the king was very sick, and that it was their wish to know what arrangement the people chose to make. Then the people replied, "Such a one (naming the person chosen by the *adhikāramas*) promises to possess all the virtues of the sick king ; or, is free from his faults." To which the ministers rejoined, "Well, remember it is your choice, do not blame us for it hereafter ; we cannot refuse our assent."

Now it was pretty well understood that the king was dead. The *diyavaḍana nīlamē*, and the *haluvaḍana nīlamē*, attended the prince, to assist him in bathing and in dressing himself in the robes and ornaments of royalty. He proceeded in the royal palanquin to the

\* Davy (1821), 158-164.



palace, and getting out at the great arch-way, ascended the steps to the *daḷadā-māligāva*, prostrated before the shrine, and made an offering of flowers to Buddha, to prove that he was of the established religion of the country. From the temple he went to the adjoining *pattirippuva*, the hexagonal pavilion at the head of the great square. A signal being given a curtain was drawn and the prince was disclosed seated, when jingalls were fired, and tom-toms, &c. played. The chiefs in the square below, arranged according to rank, prostrated themselves three times, and then went on their knees. The prince begging them not to mind the ceremonial, they prostrated again, and at his request went on one side. Then the people of the *raḥas*, drawn up in lines and formed into a square, presented themselves, and the first *adhikārama* described the different districts to which they belonged. Now the chiefs repeated their prostrations, and were succeeded by tumblers, fencers, and dancers, who having first prostrated, performed before the prince. The chiefs having prostrated once more, the prince retired, and was conducted to the royal bed-chamber.

It was now publicly announced that the king was dead. A tent was pitched before the hall of audience, in which, on a piece of iron and a bason of mixed metal, a man stood by the side of a heap of paddy and beat the mourning tom-tom—the public signal of the event, warning the chiefs to dress themselves in black, and authorizing the people to give vent to their grief, and cry and lament aloud.

Till the body of the deceased monarch was consumed, it was contrary to custom for the prince to take any refreshment. The corpse, enclosed in a coffin, was carried in a palanquin to the *avadana-maḍuva*, or royal burying-ground, attended by the chiefs, their wives and daughters. As the funeral procession moved on, two women standing on a platform, carried by four men, threw rice over the coffin. The priests of the different temples of Buddha were assembled at the burying-ground, and having offered up the proper prayer for the happiness of the deceased monarch in his metempsychosis, were presented with cloths, that were laid on the coffin, to be given them for discharging their pious office. The coffin was placed in a kind of wooden cage, and was surrounded with wood; a person broke its lid with an axe, and a relation of the deceased set fire to the pile, which was fed with oil, and pitch, and sandalwood, and various perfumes. When the whole was enveloped in flame, the chiefs retired, went to the great square, and informing the prince that the body was burnt, were ordered by him to go to their homes and purify themselves.

The mourning tom-tom was sounded, and the funeral fire was kept alive till the eleventh day, when the chiefs proceeded to the burying-ground with offerings of betel, areka-nut, and such articles of diet as might be presented to a king with propriety. The fire was now extinguished by pouring on it milk and cocoanut-water; some of the calcined bones were put into a pot or urn of earthenware, and covered and sealed, whilst the rest of the bones and ashes were collected and deposited in a grave with the presents brought for the deceased king.

The urn was placed on the head of a man masked and covered all over with black, who, holding a sword in his hand, and mounted on an elephant or horse, and attended by the chiefs, proceeded to the Mahaveli-ganga. At the ferry called Kaṭugastota, two small canoes made of the *kakoonga* were prepared, lashed together, and covered with boughs in the form of a bower. The masked bearer, entering the canoe,

1 Octoganal

was drawn towards the mid-channel of the river by two men swimming; who, when they approached the deepest part of the stream, pushed the canoe forward, and hastily retreated. Now the mask, having reached the proper station, with the sword in one hand the urn in the other, divided the urn with the sword, and in the act plunged into the stream, and diving, came up as far as possible below, and landing on the opposite side, disappeared. The canoes were allowed to float down the river; the horse or elephant was carried across, and left to graze at large, never to be used any more; and the women who threw the rice over the coffin, with the men who carried them, were also transported to the other side of the river, under the strict prohibition of recrossing. The chiefs returned to the great square, informed the prince that the ceremony was ended, and were again ordered to purify themselves. If a near relation of the deceased monarch, the prince himself put on, and ordered the court to wear, deeper mourning than before; but if not, he threw off his mourning, with the exception of a black handkerchief, which he continued to wear about his head.

Another ceremony remained to be performed before the prince could be considered completely king;—it was that of choosing a name and putting on the regal sword. It was the duty of the royal astrologers to ascertain a fortunate period for the ceremony, and invent fortunate names; each individual being required to write a name on a plate of gold, set with precious stones, and deposit it in the *nāta-dēvāle*. On the day fixed, which was sometimes a year or two after the election, the prince went in great state to the *maha-visnu-devale*, where he presented offerings and made prostrations to the god. Thence, he passed to the Nata-dēvāle, and having gone through the same religious ceremony, he inspected the plates, chose the name that pleased him, and read it to the first *Adikar*, who proclaimed aloud,—“This is the name that the gods have chosen for the king to bear.” Then the gold plate, the *nalapaṭa*, on which the name was inscribed, was tied to the prince's forehead by a member of the Pilima Talavve family, which being of royal descent, enjoyed this privilege and that of putting on the regal sword, which was attached to a belt that passed over the shoulder and came round the waist. The sword having been girded on the prince, the *kapurāla* presented a pot of sandal-powder, in which the prince, who may now be called king, dipped his fingers and touched the sword; and this ceremony was performed in the Maha, as well as in the Nata-dēvāle. From the temple, mounted on his elephant, the king went round the great square, and paraded through the illuminated streets of his capital, preceded by dancers, singers, and musicians of all kinds, and attended by his whole court, making the greatest possible display of pomp and splendour.

Coronation, it may be remarked, was not one of the ceremonies of the Kandyan monarchy, nor I believe, of the eastern courts in general; nor is a crown named amongst the essential regalia, which are, the white umbrella, the chameraga or brush made of the tail of the Tibet cow, the gold sword, the gold forehead-plate, and the golden slippers. But though not essential, the use of the crown was not prohibited, and there was a handsome one of gold set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, that belonged to the kings of Kandy. It was seldom worn; and a cap, from superstitious motives, was generally substituted for it,—a king imagining that, in assuming a crown, he imitated the gods (who are supposed to wear crowns), and that unless he imitated them as well in his conduct, leading ever after the most correct and irreproachable and virtuous life, he should excite their highest displeasure, and draw down certain vengeance on his ambitious and unworthy head.



## APPENDIX II

### LIST OF KANDYAN HEADMEN COMPILED BY JOHN D'OYLY AND JAMES GAY, 1817

First Adikar  
Second Adikar  
Disāve of Four Kōraḷēs  
Disāve of Seven Kōraḷēs  
Disāve of Mātalē  
Disāve of Three Kōraḷēs  
Disāve of Sabaragamuva<sup>1</sup>

Raṭēmahatmayā of Udunuvara  
Raṭēmahatmayā of Yaṭinuvara  
Raṭēmahatmayā of Tumpanē  
Raṭēmahatmayā of Hārispattuva  
Ratemahatmayā of Dumbara  
Raṭēmahatmayā of Hēvāhāṭa  
Raṭēmahatmayā of Mimurē\*  
Raṭēmahatmayā of Kotmalē  
Raṭēmahatmayā of Uḍa Bulatgama  
Raṭēmahatmayā of Pāta Bulatgama

Mahadiyavaḍana nilame  
Palle vāhala diyavaḍana nilame  
Mahagabaḍā nilame  
Uḍagabaḍā nilame  
Pallevahala gabaḍā nilame  
2 Vannaku nilamēs of the Treasury  
Batvaḍana nilame  
Gajanāike nilame  
Maha lēkam  
Atapattu lēkam  
Wedikāra lēkam  
Nanayakkari lēkam  
Vādana tuvakkukari lēkam  
Paḍikāra lēkam  
Koḍituvakkukāra lēkam  
Maḍuve gankāru lēkam  
Kuruve lēkam  
Kuruve lēkam of Kingalle  
Kuruve lēkam of Mātalē  
Dunukāra lēkam  
2 Kūnam maḍuve lēkams  
Muhandiram of Hātapenge  
Ranavude Mandapa Lēkam and  
Muhandiram of Atapattu Murapola  
Muhandiram of Sudiliya  
Muhandiram of Maruvaliya

1. Another list of 29-9-1818 (CGA. A-551) includes disaves of Uḍa palāta, Valapane, Bintānna, Vellassa, Nuvarakalaviya and Tamankaḍuva.

\* created in the last years of the Kingdom.

Diyavaḍana nilame of the great Temple, Daladā Māligāva  
Basnaike nilame of Nata dēvāle  
Basnaike nilame of Maha dēvāle  
Basnaike nilame of Kataragam dēvāle  
Basnaike nilame of Pattini dēvāle

#### Principals of Temples

Vannaku nilame of the Arm's House  
Koṭṭalbadde Nilame  
Chief of the Mahabadda or Beravāyo  
Chief of the Badahalla badde or Potters  
Chief of the Rada badde or Washers  
Chief of the Hunu badde or chunam-burners  
Chief of the Anilabadde  
Chief of the Kinnara badde  
Muhandiram of Aspantiya

#### Six Muhandirams attached to Maha Lēkam, viz

Muhandiram of Udunuvara  
Muhandiram of Yaṭinuvara  
Muhandiram of Tumpanē.  
Muhandiram of Hārispattuva  
Muhandiram of Dumbara  
Muhandiram of Hēvāhāṭa

#### Eight Muhandirams attached to Atapattu Lēkam :

Muhandiram of Udunuvara  
Muhandiram of Yaṭinuvara  
Muhandiram of Tumpanē  
Muhandiram of Hārispattu  
Muhandiram of Dumbara  
Muhandiram of Hēvāhāṭa  
Muhandiram of Uḍispattu  
Muhandiram of Gampahē

#### Eight Muhandirams attached to Vedikara Lēkam :

Muhandiram of Hārispattuva  
Muhandiram of Dumbara  
Muhandiram of Uḍispattuva  
Muhandiram of Gampahē  
Muhandiram of Pallispattu  
Muhandiram of Meddisiapattu  
Muhandiram of Egoḍatchi  
Muhandiram of Hēvāhāṭa

#### Four Muhandirams attached to Nanayakkāra Lēkam :

Muhandiram of Udunuvara  
Muhandiram of Pattinuvara  
Muhandiram of Tumpanē  
Muhandiram of Gampoḷa

#### One Muhandiram attached to Vaduna Tuvakkukari Lēkam.

#### Five Muhandirams attached to Paḍikari Lēkam :

Muhandiram of Dolosbāge  
Muhandiram of Haloluva  
Muhandiram of Palluta  
Muhandiram of Tumpanē  
Muhandiram of Hēvāhāṭa



Muhandiram of the White Cattle (Sudu Harak Pantiya).  
 Kuttaha Lekam (in charge of persons who furnished cake dues).  
 Chief of Lūnubadde.  
 Paṭṭi vidan.  
 Porunakara Muhandiram, Chief of Wood-cutters.  
 Chief of Gonbadde of Ūva (carriers).  
 Maḍige of Four Kōraḷēs and Chiefs of all Maḍigē Departments, the personnel being Moors.  
 Chief of Lower Bulatgama.

## APPENDIX III

## LIST OF INFERIOR OFFICES IN THE PROVINCE OF SABARAGAMUVA COMPILED BY HERBERT WRIGHT ESQ.

1. Disāve mohottāla of the province
2. Atapattu nilame of the province
3. Kodituvakku mohottāla
4. Valauvvē mohottāla
5. Basnāyake nilame of Sabaragamuva dēvāle
6. Basnāyake nilame of Alutnuvara dēvāle
7. Basnāyake nilame of Bottimbe dēvāle
8. Basnāyake nilame of Amadu dēvāle

The above may be regarded as the principal situations in the province

## KURUWITA KORALE

Kōraḷa of Kōraḷē.  
 Muhandiram of Udapattu  
 Muhandiram of Mādapattu  
 Muhandiram of Pallepattu  
 Muhandiram of Woodcutters  
 Muhandiram of four villages  
 Vidan of Gillanalle, a royal village  
 Vidan of Kendangomuve, a royal village  
 Vidan of Ellāwala, a royal village  
 Vidan of Eratna  
 Vidan of Kosgoddepanne  
 Vidan of Hakurubudde  
 Vidan of Delgomuwa  
 Vidan of Hakurubadde  
 Lēkam of Kōraḷē, appointed by Kōraḷa  
 Lēkam of Ellawala, appointed by Vidan  
 Kankānam of Kōraḷē, appointed by Kōraḷa  
 Kankānam of Mādapattu }  
 Kankānam of Udapattu } appointed by the muhandirams respectively  
 Kankānam of Pallepattu }  
 Kankānam of Enatne appointed by Vidan  
 Kankānam of Gillemalle appointed by Vidan  
 Kankānam of Kendangomuve. Formerly a royal village, but converted  
 by the king into a disāvane village  
 2 Lekams of Kendangomuwa }  
 2 Muhandirams of Kendangomuwa } appointed over coolies &c., from  
 1 Hevaduraya of Kendangomuwa } whom they make small ex-  
 } tractions.  
 1 Liyanna of Kosgode }  
 1 Mahaduraya of Kosgode } appointed by vidān and pay him small  
 } fees.

## Dēvāle of Sabaragamuva in Kuruwitte Kōraḷē

Ilangomuwa Mohotti Nilley, alias Egoda Betmi, appointed by disāve  
 and is considered hereditary.  
 Medanaka Mohotti Nilley, alias Meygoda Betmi }  
 Gabaḍā Mohottale } appointed by disāve  
 Vaṇṇaku Nilley } but not hereditary.  
 Ratnaike Nilley }



Vidan of Hunuwella	} annually appointed by the disāve on the recommendation of the Basnāyaka Nilame.
Vidān of Thalagantenna	
Vidān of Igodagampaha	
Vidān of Kolambagamu	
Vidān of Kuruwitte Gampaha	
Vidān of Tolavitaya	} appointed by Basnāyaka Nilame, paying small fees.
Vidān of Weralupe	
Vidān of Kalamane	
Vidān of Washers	
Lēkam of Itunuwella	
Kankānam of Itunuwella	} appointed by Basnāyaka Nilame, paying small fees.
Kankānam of Gantuna	
Lēkam of Bibiligam	
Lēkam of Pannilla	
Kankānam of Kahangam	
Lēkam of Kuruwitte Gampaha	} appointed by Basnāyaka Nilame, paying small fees.
Kankānam of Kuruwitte Gampaha	
Duraya of Kuruwitte Gampaha	
Kankānam of Talavitta	
Lēkam of Talavitta	
Duraya of Talavitta	} Head of dancers and tom-tommers and of labourers.
Pannika	
Tandala	

## ATTAKALAN KÖRALE

Körāla  
Muhandiram of Panil Pattu  
Muhandiram of Mada Pattu

Muhandiram of Kandawepattu  
Muhandiram of Tambagampattu

Held by one person, being hereditary in two families by whom the office is enjoyed by turns annually. This Muhandiram pays only 5 ridis per annum as *penuma* and his people are free from public service. His profits are about 50 ridis per annum. This privilege is not accounted for.

Lēkam of the Kōrālē  
Vidān of Panil pattu  
Vidān of Mada pattu  
Vidān of Kanderval pattu  
Vidān of Tambagam pattu  
Vidan of Madampe  
Lēkam  
Kankānam } of Madampe.  
Duraya  
Vidān of Hirimadogam  
Lēkam and Kankānam of Hirimadogam  
Vidān of Ruvanvella  
Lēkam of Ruvanvella } under the maha dēvāle in Kandy.  
Kankānam of Ruvanvella  
Vidan of Massambully } under daḷadā māligāva, Kandy.  
Vidan of Pallibedde  
Vidan of Mandalagam  
Patti Lēkam of Mandalagam  
Vidan of Attakalampane  
Lianne of Attakalampane  
Duraya of Attakalampane

## Amadu dēvāle in Attakalam Kōrale

Basnāyaka nilame of the dēvāle. Before mentioned and is not hereditary in any particular family. Appointed by the disāve of Sabaragamuva.

Lēkam of the dēvāle

## NAVADUN KORALE

Kōrāla of the Kōrālē  
Atukōrālē āraci of the Kōrālē  
Atapattu muhandiram of Māda pattu  
Atapattu muhandiram of Palle pattu  
Kodituvakku Muhandiram of Māda Pattu  
Kodituvakku Muhandiram of Pallepattu  
Vidan of Denewoka  
Lēkam of Denewoka  
Kankānam of Denewoka  
Vidan of Kottapittiya  
Lēkam of Kottapittiya  
Kankānam of Kottapittiya  
Vidan of Bamberabotuva  
Kankānam of Bamberabotuva  
Battugedera Vidan  
Battugedera Kankānam  
Vidan of Watupitipalawela  
Lianne of Watupitipalawela  
Duraya of Watupitipalawela  
Vidan of Pelmadulla  
Vidan of Ganegama  
Mudianse of Karawetta } hereditary titles immutable and pay  
Mudianse of Nirella } nothing for appointment.

## KUKUL KORALE

Kōrāla of Kukul Kōrālē  
Muhandiram of Udapattu } having authority over the lascorins  
Muhandiram of Pallepattu } and subject to the Kōrāla.  
Muhandiram of Madapattu  
Lēkam of Kukul Kōrālē. Has authority over the paṭabāṇḍi.  
Vidan of Kakawela.  
Lēkam } appointed by vidan : the latter corresponds with the  
Dasikkam } rank of kankānam.  
Vidan of Galatura, a vihāra village  
Lēkam of Galatura  
Kankānam of Galatura  
Vidan of Gawaragiriya  
Vidan of Kudany  
Vidan of Dumbara, a vihāra village  
2 Kankānams of Dumbara

## MADA KORALE

Kōrāla of Mada Kōrālē  
Muhandiram of Illul udapalata } have authority over the lascorins  
Muhandiram of Illul patapalata } of the kōrālē.  
Kōrālē lēkam. Has authority over the gamvasamkārayo, alias paṭabāṇḍi  
Openaike vidan  
Balangoda vidan



Handagiriya vidan  
Kaltotta vidan  
Mada Kanda vidan  
Halbāge vidan. Held always by the Kōrāḷa  
Ellapola

## KADAWITTA KORALE

Kōrāḷa of Kadawitta Kōrāḷē.  
Muhandiram of Kadawitta Kōrāḷē  
Lēkam of Kadawitta Kōrāḷē  
Hatarabāge Vidan

## BOLTUMBY DEVALE

Basnāyaka nilame. Not hereditary  
Mylapperuma Mohotti Nilley

## KOLONA KORALE

Kōrāḷa of Kolana Kōrāḷē  
Muhandiram of Deyapotugampaha  
Muhandiram of Kolonagampaha  
Lēkam of Kolonagampaha

PART TWO  
THE VILLAGE



## VILLAGE ECOLOGY

THE Sinhalese term *gama* (Pali *gāma*, Skt. *grāma*), used in certain contexts to signify landed property or estate,<sup>1</sup> also designated a collection of land-holdings. Since the word *paṃguva* or *vasama*<sup>2</sup> connoted a single holding forming part of the *gama*, the latter term may be defined as a collection of land-holdings aggregated in one place and comprising a village in the usual sense. A village may sometimes be abandoned or otherwise unoccupied; the *olagam* mentioned in the *vitti-pot* or Books of Incidents were uninhabited villages, the lands of which were cultivated by people from adjoining villages.<sup>3</sup> Hence the term *gama*, translated as "village," will be understood to connote an inhabited village, and the term *paṃguva* or *vasama* will be used to designate individual holdings of land within a village. The village, so defined, was not an administrative unit as such, and in Kandyan times the village headman (*gamarāla*, *gammāhē*) was no longer a state official, but only a village elder. The *gama* was part of a *pattuva* which in turn was a sub-division of a *kōralē*, and it was these latter which were the units of state administration to which officials were attached.

The question then arises whether the village was not merely an arbitrary entity with no significance from the point of view of social organization. But although the physical boundaries of the village may not have been clearly defined, and the casual visitor often finds it difficult to distinguish one village from another, people of the place were well aware of the village limits, and developed a sense of belonging to a territorial and social unit. There were in many villages people who claimed descent from some original ancestor, real or imaginary.<sup>4</sup> The distinction between "native" and other inhabitants of the village was frequently made, and even in tenth-century inscriptions the *gam-vūsiyo* or "village inhabitants" were

1. cf. the phrase *ūta nama dunnā gama dunnē nā*, "I gave him my name, but not my estate." *Nama gama* means name and estate, "the name by which any person of rank is distinguished, and generally known, being that of the village in which his ancestral or principal estates are situated." (D'Oyly. 1832. 60.)

2. *vasama* is also used in the sense of a state "department."

3. cf. the *Vitti-pota* of Kurunāgala District (AR, 1867) for references to *olagam*. The list of *Villages in Mātālē North and South* enumerates several abandoned villages.

4. cf. the numerous examples in *Villages in Mātālē North and South*.



distinguished from the mass of cultivators known as *kuḍin*.<sup>5</sup> 'The objection of the "native" to the acquisition of land in his village by a stranger, even though resident a mile or so away, is still strong in parts of Ceylon,' says Codrington.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the conception of a village was often of practical importance. According to Knox each smith was assigned a parcel of villages for which he alone could work, and a smith whose jurisdiction was invaded could claim compensation from the interloper.<sup>7</sup> The existence of the *gamsabhāva* or village council as a living institution is another index of the sociological reality of the village-community. In the small single-caste villages, social solidarity was particularly strong, and each family could rest assured of the assistance of the others in agricultural operations or when rebuilding a house.

Each village holding had as its central and most valuable nucleus, an extent of mud-land (*maḍa-bim*) which was cultivated with paddy. The very existence of the people depended on the successful cultivation of rice, their "staff of life." The unhusked grain, *vi* or paddy, also served as a medium of exchange in economic transactions, and it was not uncommon for a debt to be discharged by means of a quantity of paddy in lieu of money.<sup>8</sup> The staple grain was generally cultivated by the "wet" method which necessitated water-logged fields fed with an uninterrupted, yet regulated, supply of water. The "dry" method of paddy cultivation did not require such continuous inundation, but hill-paddy or *āl-vi* was less frequently grown, being considered unwholesome as a food on account of its "heating" properties.<sup>9</sup> The watered fields were commonly situated in *deṇi* or narrow valleys running between mountain ranges, but a characteristic feature of the *uḍa raṭa* was the arrangement of fields in the hillsides, the declivities of mountains being niched into paddy fields laid out in terraces, giving the impression of seats in a vast amphitheatre.<sup>10</sup> In the smaller villages the fields (*kuṁburu*) consisted of one continuous stretch of low-lying land, and fencing and cultivation were performed simultaneously by all the villagers.

Since rice produced by the "wet" method was the mainstay of a purely agrarian economy, irrigation was a matter of cardinal

5. EZ, I. No. 8. (The Daḷadāgē Inscription of Mahinda IV, reg. A.D. 975-991).

6. Codrington (1938), I.

7. Knox (1681), 108.

8. Lawrie Mss, I.

9. Knox (1681) 5; Kandy Kachcheri Diary, 19-1-1843, CGA 18/6. The term *giniyama*, literally rendered into English as "heating" apparently refers to food of high calorific content, particularly *kurakkan*. According to Joinville (North Mss.), "there are four kinds of rice, of which three grow in the mountains, and do not require permanent inundation." Moon (1824) lists many more.

10. Forbes (1840), II. 121.

importance in the lives of the people. In the Wet Zone highlands the villagers depended on rainfall, and streams or water courses known as *āla* were diverted to their fields. The right of several parties to water from such a stream was designated *diya-bedum* or water-shares, and occupants of land at an elevation were prohibited from diverting a water-course and depriving the fields below of irrigation facilities.<sup>11</sup> The irrigation of the highland fields has been described by Knox as follows:

'All these sorts of Rice do absolutely require Water to grow in, all the while they stand; so that the Inhabitants take great pains in procuring and saving water for their Grounds, and in making Conveyances of Water from their Rivers and Ponds into their Lands, which they are very ingenious in; also in levelling their Corn Lands, which must be smooth as a Bowling-Green, that the Water may cover all over. Neither are their steep and Hilly Lands incapable of being thus overflown with Water. For the doing of which they use this Art. They level these Hills into narrow Allies, some three, some eight foot wide one beneath another, according to the steepness of the Hills, working and digging them in that fashion that they lie smooth and flat, like so many Stairs up the Hills one above another. The Waters at the Top of the Hills falling downwards are let into these Allies, and so successively by running out of one into another, water all; first the higher Lands, and then the lower. The highest Allies having such a quantity of Water as may suffice to cover them, the rest runs over unto the next, and so by degrees it falls into all these hanging parcels of Ground.'<sup>12</sup>

If water provided by springs and rivers proved inadequate, the supply was supplemented by semi-circular village tanks which stored up rain water. "As the water dried off these Ponds, they make use of them for Fields, treading the Mud with Buffaloes, and then sowing Rice thereon."<sup>13</sup> In the Dry Zone provinces, the tanks were practically the only sources of water. (cf. post, Part VII).

The paddy land of each village-holding had attached to it an "appurtenance" (*aḍuttu dēval*) consisting of high-lands (*goḍa bim*), including "gardens" (*vatu*) and *hēn* (i.e., land which might be cultivated by felling and burning the trees growing thereon). The paddy land and its appurtenance provided the basic domestic requirements of a family—rice, cocoanuts, vegetables, betel and

11. cf. the petition of Uppasekeragedara Muttuva of Koṭmalē, the owner of a paddy field "from time immemorial watered by the water-course called Naye-pihilla" which, he complained, had been blocked by proprietors of the fields above his, taking advantage of his poverty and simplicity (BC, 17-6-1850. CGA 18/8). The inscription addressed to officials containing the phrase *diyabedum no ganno* (EZ, I. 191-200, No. 16) has been construed to imply that officials constantly tampered with water supplied to fields (cf. Perera. 1949. III, 1070). More probably, officials were enjoined to see that water supplies were not interfered with by individuals. Here *diya beduma* has nothing to do with water-tax, and has been correctly rendered as "diya-shares," that is, water shares (BC, 1-7-1841, CGA 18/10).

12. Knox (1681), 12.

13. *Ibid.*, 14.



areka nut, firewood, pasture, honey and game. Low-land and high-land were therefore considered as complementary and inseparable elements of a village holding, since they made a household self-sufficing in all but a few items such as salt and clothing. Thus when a typical *mul-paṅguwa* or original field named Kotakumbura of a mere 5 *pālas* sowing-extent was divided by Halliyadda Loku Mudiyanse between his two sons, he took care to divide the appurtenance too : Appurāla received half the original field, with lands attached, while Tikirāla was given the remaining 2 *pālas* 5 *lāhas* of the field with appertaining high-lands, but both brothers shared that part of the appurtenance known as the *vatta* or garden in which the *mulgedara* was built.<sup>14</sup>

The smallest villages had eight to ten homesteads, while the largest had over a hundred. The *gedara-vatta* in which the house of a landholder was built was encircled by a fence, and sometimes a ditch as well, to keep off wandering cattle. The village dwellings are well described by Knox :<sup>15</sup>

'Their Houses are small, low, thatched Cottages, built with sticks, daubed with clay, the walls made very smooth. For they are not permitted to build their houses above one story high, neither may they cover with tiles, nor whiten their walls with lime, but there is a Clay which is as white, and that they use sometimes. They employ no Carpenters, or house-builders, unless some few noble-men, but each one buildeth his own dwelling. In building whereof there is not so much as a nail used ; but instead of them every thing which might be nailed, is tyed with rattans and other strings, which grow in the woods in abundance ; whence the builder hath his timber for cutting. The Country being warm, many of them will not take pains to clay their walls, but make them of boughs and leaves of Trees. The poorest sort have not above one room in their houses, few above two, unless they be great men.

'They are not nice nor curious in their houses. They have no Chimneys in them, but make their fires in one corner, so that the roof is blacked with smoak.'

14. *Sirale vs. Halliyadde Talupotavadana Mudiyanse*, BJC 17-7-1817 (CGA. 23/3).

15. Knox (1681), 10-11, 137.

## II

### THE BASIS OF LAND TENURE

LAND TENURE, particularly in the Kandy districts, was geared to the state administration. As in antiquity, the king is described as "lord of the soil."<sup>16</sup> It should not be supposed, however, that this theory conferred upon the sovereign an unqualified right to arbitrary seizure of land. Certain ancient inscriptions provide evidence that the king made payment for tanks and caves, and it has been suggested that the principle may be extended to land taken without due cause.<sup>17</sup> But it is hardly necessary to attempt to reconcile the apparent paradox of a king purchasing what was his own by postulating that the payment was for improvements effected, since arbitrary expropriation was neither favoured nor sanctioned.<sup>18</sup> The maxim current in the third century, that "ownerless land belongs to the king" which was brought to the attention of King Mahasen by a scheming monk who urged him to appropriate abandoned *mahavihāra* land,<sup>19</sup> expressed the legal position. Even in late Kandyan times, although abandoned land became *purappāḍu* and liable to escheat, land was allotted in

16. cf. the Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV (reg. c A.D. 975) in EZ. I, No. 8. NN terms Manu "lord (*adhipati*) of the fields of all." The word *mehesana* in mediaeval inscriptions, e.g., *lakdiv-polo mehesana purapuren himi* (8th century) has been translated "lord" (EZ) ; Mr Julius de Lanerolle renders it "(to whom) belongs the queen-like soil by right of descent." The symbolism of "queen-like" is evidently akin to "mother-earth."

17. In the Vihāragala Inscription of Subha (EZ. III, 62-9, 14-15), the king *bought* a tank which he donated to a temple. But Subha was an usurper and may not have been in a position to exercise the authority appropriate to the "lord of the soil." The other inscriptions relate to purchase of caves by kings.

18. Although there is no direct inscriptional evidence, Perera (1949.I, 101 et seq) extends this principle of payment to land, and proceeds to account for putative cases by the theory that individuals had an "inherent right" to the fruit of their land. As between individuals, Kandyan law was clear that if a deed of gift was revoked, the donee was entitled to compensation for improvements to the land if he was a stranger, but not if he was an heir at law of the donor (D'Oyly. 1832. 151, *Tikira vs. Tikira* 1919, NLR 30, at p.435).

19. Wickremasinghe (1924), in stating that the maxim was a heresy, misinterprets the text (*Mhv.*, 37. 8-9). It was the religious doctrines of the monk and not his legal theories that were heretical. The *mahavihāra* monks had deserted the monastery in a body for seven years as a protest against the king's patronage of the Vaitulyan heresy. To enrich his sect, the Vaitulyan monk urged the king to act upon a current legal maxim which remained valid even in Kandyan times, by which abandoned or *ownerless* land (not *any* land) became liable to escheat.



compensation when a man's field was destroyed by a new road opened by the king,<sup>20</sup> and when individual and temple holdings were taken over to construct the new Lake.<sup>21</sup>

The overlordship of the monarch and his state officials was scarcely noticed in the provinces remote from the capital. In the Nuvarakalāviya and Tamankaduva districts, for instance, there were no royal villages, only a few *ket* or royal fields (cf. post, Part VII). Nearer the seat of government the king was proprietor of vast estates. *Rājasantaka*, or crown land, comprised the interdicted royal forests (*tahansi kālē*) such as Hantāna and Uḍavattakālē, and the royal villages (*gabaḍāgam*, *bisōgam*). The granting of lands and villages by the king to individuals and temples was a common occurrence. The jurisdiction of the crown impinged lightly on the inhabitants of temple villages and *nindagam* or estates granted to chiefs.

The Sinhalese conception of property in land always assumed that title was contingent on the performance of "service," ranging from formal homage, e.g., the annual presentation of a bundle of betel leaves, to laborious duties such as tilling the soil and carrying burdens. In most countries the law has provision for escheat of land to the state in the event of treasonable activity on the part of its owner. But here, besides the sovereign's power of confiscation in cases of serious crime, property in land was inextricably connected with certain positive duties. "The chain of duties and services which was there established, binding every class, and every individual, from the highest to the lowest rank, was the great moving machine, applied to enforce the civil and judicial administration of government, to regulate the pursuits of agriculture and to carry on offensive or defensive war."<sup>22</sup> Thus villages attached to the various state departments, including the *kōraḷēgam*, were liable to services and taxes to the sovereign or his representative.

Even *pravēṇi* right to land, which conferred heritable title in perpetuity<sup>23</sup> and was the highest property-right in land which an individual could legally have, was, with few exceptions, subject to some service associated with the land—either personal service, or a payment in money or in kind. This was known as *rājakāriya*. It

20. cf. *Deyenewelle Appu Naide vs. Bambaradeniya*, BJC, 22-10-1824 (CGA. 23/13).

21. cf. *Hilpankandurayalagedara vs. Tennegedara Arachilla*, BJC, 9-8-1822 (CGA, 23/7). The Nāta Dēvāle and Pōya Maluva also obtained land in compensation when the last king constructed the lake, but not the Malvatte Vihāra. (cf. Mahanāyaka Unnansō's evidence in the Malvatte Vihāra Land Case, *TLC*, 7-7-1857).

22. Bertolacci (1817), 279.

23. The symbols of sun and moon were engraved on ancient inscriptions conferring land on individuals and temples, to signify that a royal grant was made for all time (cf. Warnasuriya. 1943).

attached to land, not the person, and failure to perform *rājakāriya* rendered the land *purappādu*, and a new claimant was liable to the service attached to the land. In the event of sale or gift, the purchaser or donee continued to perform *rājakāriya*. In the case of mortgage, the mortgagee cultivated the land, while the mortgagor performed the service, the crop being shared by the parties for the labour of cultivation and the duty of service, respectively. In other words, the title was vested in him who performed the *rājakāriya*.<sup>24</sup>

A person who brought into cultivation as a paddy field land belonging to another, was in a peculiar position. A case is on record where *hēn* land was brought into cultivation as a *liyādda* of paddy land, for the usufruct of which the clandestine cultivator paid a basket of cooked rice and ten *nūli* of uncooked rice annually to the proprietor.<sup>25</sup> Such newly-formed paddy lands (*asvāddum*) were usually of inconsiderable extent, and the conditions of their cultivation varied.<sup>26</sup> In some districts at any rate, the law recognized the interest of the *asvāddumizer*, whether the land had been cultivated with the proprietor's consent or not. Since it required considerable labour to "asvāddumize" high land, the proprietor could not eject the industrious squatter, but had the option of cultivating the newly-opened land himself. If he chose to do so, the *asvāddumizer* was entitled to an *aṇḍa* share of the crop, otherwise the proprietor received an *otu* share;<sup>27</sup> in either case the proprietor performed the *rājakāriya* for the land, which was entered in the Land Rolls as an *asvādduma*.<sup>28</sup>

24. cf. Pieris (1955).

25. BJC, 29-5-1817, (CGA 23/2).

26. D'Oyly (1835) 54, 66. cf. also Pieris (1955).

27. "...Fields called *aṇḍa* being the private property of the village people are cultivated at the joint expense of the village proprietor and the field owner, each deriving one-half of the crop; another duty called *otu* is levied by the village proprietor from other fields also the private property of the inhabitants of the village, cultivated entirely at their own expense. This duty varies in amount and nature according to the will of the parties, being paid sometimes in paddy, sometimes in rice, sometimes retained on account of personal services or commuted for money. It never, I believe, exceeds one-half the quantity of seed sown when the crops thrive, otherwise little or nothing is taken by the village proprietor. With respect to the *aṇḍa* fields [of royal villages] it was usual for the king to send messengers from Kandy to have them cultivated. Seed was taken from the king's store in the village, which also supplied the labourers with food." (Wright 1818).

28. BJC, 19-12-1829, (CGA 23/25, Pt. 1.)



## III

FOREST AND WASTE<sup>29</sup>

FOREST LAWS were not uniform throughout the kingdom. Within *maha nuvara* itself there was no doubt that the forest was strictly interdicted as a royal preserve—the ditch marking the limits of the city went round the king's great thicket, Uḍavattakālē<sup>30</sup> and people were not allowed even to gather firewood in it.<sup>31</sup> The forest of Hantāna, on the opposite side of the Lake,<sup>32</sup> though outside the limits of the city, was likewise interdicted, but people were permitted to gather firewood and withs in it. Clearly, certain forests were considered to be crown property (*rājasantaka*) but the limitation on user by private citizens varied. There were prohibited forests (*tahansi kālē*) in many parts of the kingdom<sup>33</sup> and they were protected for various reasons. The forest at the present Kaḍugannāva Pass and a belt along the highland frontier were reserved for military reasons. Elsewhere the felling of trees was prohibited with the object of preserving useful timbers, but people did sometimes ignore these interdicts.<sup>34</sup>

Royal forests could not be cultivated without express permission of the king through one of his *adhikāramas*. The cultivator could improve such land or convert it into paddy fields, but notice was required since *rājakāriya* would be assigned to the newly cultivated land. According to Davy no duty was paid for the reclaimed land during the life of the original cultivator, presumably in recognition of the difficulty of bringing forest or waste land into cultivation for paddy crops, and to encourage the opening up of such land. The proprietor was free to sell or otherwise alienate this land, but the new proprietor was liable to perform *rājakāriya*.<sup>35</sup>

29. "Forest" may be defined as a large tract covered with trees and undergrowth. The term "jungle" which is, after all, an Indian word, is used with the same import. (cf. G. Subha Rao, *Indian Words in English*. Oxford, 1954). "Waste" refers to uninhabited and uncultivated land.

30. Dambuvenayaka Unnanse's Evidence in the Malvatta Vihāra Land Case, *TLC*, 1857.

31. D'Oyly (1835), 65.

32. The Pērādeniya range of this extensive forest is now property of the University of Ceylon.

33. A royal forest Dambakaḍuva in Three Kōraḷēs is mentioned in 1821 (BC, in Kandy Kachcheri Records. Codrington. 1938, 5).

34. *Dehigama Senior Divi Nīleme vs. Halangoda, late Lekam*. BJC. 1826 (CGA 23/20).

35. Davy (1821), 185-186.

The classification of certain forests as "crown" (*rājasantaka*) clearly implies that others were regarded as falling outside this category. The *de facto* state of affairs in the remoter provinces was that forests were felled for *hēn* cultivation,<sup>36</sup> even though the *de jure* position may have been that trees could be felled, but *hēn* cultivation disallowed without permission.<sup>37</sup> In Ūva, crown forest could scarcely be distinguished from what had come to be regarded as private property.<sup>38</sup> In Nuvarakalāviya, *hēn* cultivation which was common even in the seventeenth century,<sup>39</sup> had become an integral part of the village economy and the forest land within the limits of a village was cultivated exclusively by the shareholders in the village tank and field. But cattle of adjoining villages and *tavalams* were permitted to graze therein "much the same as they would be allowed to graze on a common in England."<sup>40</sup> In Seven Kōraḷēs (Demala Hatpattu), various types of forest are mentioned in connection with *hēn* cultivation, an appropriate crop being selected according to the nature of the forest: *navadili hēn* were relatively young forests felled for certain fine grains, particularly *kurakkan*, while *mūkulāna hēn* was ground covered by high forest and suitable for vegetable crops such as chillies, and *hiyara hēn* was a type of forest land selected for *menēri* and *kurakkan* crops.<sup>41</sup> In Kāgalla District, however, the popular notion was that high forest (*mūkulāna*) was *ipso facto* crown property and could not be felled for *hēn* purposes.<sup>42</sup>

36. "They cut down Woods, and sow the ground, and having got one Crop off from it, they leave it, and Wood soon grows over it again." (Knox 1681. 246).

37. According to D'Oyly (1835), 65.

38. In 1841 Rambukpota Disāva reported that encroachment on crown land in Badulla District was easy when the desire existed, so that it was impossible to distinguish crown forest from "private (*hēn*) property" (CGA 18/10). cf. also the reference to "private *hēn*" by the Revenue Commissioner (BC, 6-5-1825, CGA 623).

39. cf. Knox, *loc. cit.*

40. Rhys Davids (1871).

41. D'Oyly (1835) 53. cf. also the definition of *at-daṇḍuvāva* as "a jungle with trees the stems of which are of the size of a forearm; an *at-daṇḍuvāva* is younger than a *degidiyāna* and *mūkulāna* but older than a *landa*" (*Sinhalese Dictionary*).

42. "The popular notion is that every land that does not contain large forest trees is *prima facie* the property of the people, unless the contrary can be proved; so that when a *hēn* clearing is put in question, it is thought a sufficient answer to declare that there was no large jungle growing on the land. Once when on circuit through the district shortly after assuming charge, I had occasion to go on foot for some considerable distance in company with a subordinate headman. After accomplishing several miles through jungle, *hēn*, and paddy fields, my companion came to a sudden stand, and with the air of a man conscious that his intimation must impart sincere gratification, "This," said he, "is Government land." The *hēn* claimed usually exceeds considerably the extent ever cultivated by the claimant in one season." (King. 1871).



It may be concluded that *hēn* land was not identified by any standard criteria, but rather by local practice. *Hēn* was forest which people were at liberty to clear for cultivation. Generally, forest outside the village limits could not be felled for *hēn* cultivation without express permission, but as Rhys Davids commented in 1871, "the question of the *hēn* within the boundaries of inhabited villages has been decided in different ways in different districts, and there is even yet by no means a consensus of opinion on the subject, except that it is one of very great importance."<sup>43</sup>

The precise extent of the village limits is not easy to determine, but it included an extent of forest and other "high land" (*goḍa bim*, vis-a-vis *maḍa bim* or paddy land) considered as the "appurtenance" (*aduttu*) of the village,<sup>44</sup> or appertaining to a tract of paddy land.<sup>45</sup> Unlike the paddy land, the precise extent of the appurtenance was not stated in the Land Rolls, nor in legal instruments. Indeed, "the loosely-worded *nindagam* grants gave to each chief an appurtenance, and the word appurtenance in some cases assumes very elastic proportions—takes in large tracts of forests in every direction."<sup>46</sup> No proof was required to establish a private right to this appurtenance which was usually in the proportion of three to one to the mud-land, that is, a field (*maḍa bim*) of two *amuṇams* sowing-extent would be "allowed" an appurtenance of six *amuṇams* of high land (*goḍa bim*).<sup>47</sup> This extent of "high land" was transferred along with the paddy lands and the fact that private rights of property in *hēn* was acknowledged is made clear in a claim for 3½ pingos or 9 *kiravula* of deer's flesh, one pot of honey, and some cotton, being demanded by a proprietor of a *hēna* as the tenure upon which the *dalupat* lands were held under him.<sup>48</sup>

43. Rhys Davids (1871). The question was all the more important at the time since the development of the coffee plantations depended on its settlement. It is extremely hazardous, therefore, to rely on modern case law on this subject, since the judicial decisions were merely attempts to interpret the various Waste Lands Ordinances. Thus in *Attorney-General vs. Wanduragola*, District Court, Kurunāgala No. 1601, 1901 (NLR 5, at p. 98), the presumption that *hēn* belongs to the crown unless rebutted by proof of grant by the crown or payment of tax, is, to say the least, a simplification of the complex forest laws of Kandyan times, designed to evolve a standard definition of "forest" for the purposes of the Ordinance No. 12 of 1840. (cf. Codrington's rejoinder in Lanerolle, 1938, p. 225).

44. cf. the reference to *gam salāśma* or layout of the village as, opposed to *val* or forest in the Maḍavala Rock Inscription (EZ. III, No. 24).

45. The expression "village" (*gama*) in deeds &c. may also signify an estate or even a field.

46. Report of the Government Agent, Sabaragamuva, AR, 1882.

47. *Papers Relative to the Cultivation and Survey of Chena Lands* (1873).

48. In *Dullewe Disave vs. Akarapediya Udagedera Nekatralle*, BJC 10-7-1823 (CGA 23/10), it was held that plaintiff who was the lessee, must pay the dues claimed by the proprietor.

In the case of a whole village, a certain extent of *goḍa bim* was deemed to fall within the "sphere of influence" of the village, and the villagers enjoyed exclusive rights of user therein. Thus the Ganēgoḍa Sannasa of Bhuvanaika Bāhu V (reg. A.D. 1372/3—1405/6) specifies that "all within the aforesaid four boundaries was granted to him including the revenue of the village, house-gardens (*ge-vatu*), trees (*gasa*), shrubs (*kola*), fields (*kumburu*), meadows (*oviṭi*), jungle (*val*), and marshy grounds (*vili*)."<sup>49</sup> Again, the Oruvala Sannasa, A.D. 1546 recites, "All these [fields] together with jungles (*val*), meres (*vil*), fields (*kumburu*), meadows (*oviṭi*), village revenues (*gam mudala*), residing gardens (*ge-vatu*), trees (*gasa*), shrubs (*kola*), and the like, on payment of 15 *panam* every year to the lotus-coloured king of the gods [vishnu]."<sup>50</sup> The more recent Vāliṭṭa Copper Plate of Śaka 1727 (A.D. 1789) classifies *manda* or mud-land, *goḍaval piṭa* or *hēn*, and "gardens" (*vatu*) which are mentioned by name.<sup>51</sup>

49. *ima ge meki satara mahimata atulvu gama mudala ge vatu gasa kola kumburu oviṭi val vili atulvu siyallama* (cf. the reproduction in Bell. 1892).

50. EZ. III. In the interpretation of such deeds, the negative rule followed when part of the "appurtenance" such as the dwelling-garden was excluded from the recital of lands, was that it did not pass with the rest of the property. In *Oedoema Pulle Arachilla vs. Marukone Guneninalle*, BJC 10-10-1821. (CGA 23/8) it was held that the exclusion of the term "dwelling-garden" from the usual recital or specification of land, and its interpolation after the imprecation, rendered the deed suspect.

51. EZ. III, p. 238. In *Tambawitte Ukkurula vs. Mohandiramlaye Undelhamy*, BJC 4-7-1821 (CGA 23/8), a *Sannasa* dated in the year of Buddha 1955 was in dispute: "The Chiefs examine the Sannas and state that ever since the reign of Sakka Deo (Deviyo ?), writings have been dated from that era. It is only religious writings that are dated from the Buddha era."



#### IV GABADĀGAM

GABADĀGAM<sup>52</sup> or royal lands belonged directly to the crown, and were attached to one of the royal storehouses. The queen's villages were known as *bisōgam*. In Kandyan times, besides the king's principal storehouse (*maha vāhala gabadāva*), there was his private storehouse (*uḍa gabadāva*), and that of the queens and princes (*palle vāhala gabadāva*). Land confiscated to the crown by order of the king for lapse of services or dues, or for crimes such as treason, were attached to the *gabadāva*, the title-deed being impounded therein.<sup>53</sup> The king enjoyed what the late owner possessed. In the case of an estate of a chief or noble, the king enjoyed the *mutteṭṭu* fields or lord's demesne together with its appurtenances (*baṇḍāra goḍa bim*).<sup>54</sup> Besides the services and dues of the tenants. Royal villages in Sabaragamuva were almost all confiscated property of chiefs.<sup>55</sup>

Villages and fields attached to a *gabadāva* were frequently granted to chiefs as perquisites of office, or to individuals as rewards, and *gabadāgam* so granted were known as *nindagam*. If a grant was made in perpetuity, it was designated *pravēṇi nindagama*. More frequently, *gabadāgam* were transferred from one grantee to another, being held on a *sārāmāru* or temporary tenure. Royal lands were sometimes earmarked for certain offices. Thus the village Batugedara was the perquisite of the *disāva* of Sabaragamuva ex officio, and was possessed at different times by Piḷima Talavve and Āhālēpola. But in other cases the king might change the service due from a given holding from one department to another, e.g., from that of *dugganna* or personal attendant of the king, to the *lēkam* or secretarial department.<sup>56</sup>

52. This term is as ambiguous as *gama* : it might refer to an entire village or to a smaller holding within a village.

53. Land could not be taken to the *gabadāva* without the king's order (BJC, 21-11-1822, CGA 23/7). Holdings confiscated by the king for political offences and conferred on others, may be restored to the owner or even his heirs, but for neglecting the king's duties, they could not be restored (per Judicial Commissioner, concurred in by the Chiefs, BJC, 20-3-1819, in Lawrie Mss. III).

54. cf. the expression *mutteṭṭu hēna* (BJC, 6-3-1823, CGA 23/9).

55. Wright (1818).

56. In the case of the Claim of Dingiri Menika, BJC, 24-7-1819 (CGA 23/5.)

The administration of certain royal properties in the provinces (*disāvē gabadāgam*) was vested in the *disāvas*. Since ownerless or abandoned land reverted to the crown, such *purappāḍu* land situated in the *uḍa raṭa* were attached to one of the *gabadāvas*, while those in the provinces were at the disposal of the *disāva* for the time being, who either had them cultivated for himself, or had them given out for cultivation in consideration of a *bulatsurulla*<sup>57</sup> until such time as they were reclaimed by the owners. But certain crown lands in the provinces were cultivated directly on the king's behalf.<sup>58</sup> In Sabaragamuva it was usual for the king to send messengers from Kandy to have his *aṇḍa* fields cultivated, seed being provided from the royal barn in the village, which also supplied the labourers with food.<sup>59</sup>

The *gabadāva* was the office which administered the royal estates, the clearing-house for crown lands. A village held by a *disāva* might be given to *palle vāhala gabadāva*, abandoned temple villages taken to *maha vāhala gabadāva*, or one attached to *maha vāhala* bestowed on a *disāva*, and so on.<sup>60</sup> On one such occasion the inhabitants of the village in question were gathered together by a royal official, and a decree<sup>61</sup> to the effect that the village had been declared a *gabadāgama* and that the inhabitants were to do duty as such, was read out, a *bōla* or prohibition to possess the land set up, and some chillies plucked from the appurtenant *hēṇa*.<sup>62</sup> Persons found guilty of serious crime, were banished for life or for shorter periods in a *gabadāgama*, or kept prisoner in the *gabadāva*.<sup>63</sup>

Each *gabadāva* was in charge of a *gabadā nilamē* or royal storekeeper, and when this officer went on circuit to the villages under his jurisdiction, he and his staff were provisioned by specified persons in the *gabadāgam*. The *nilamē* was entitled to three measures of uncooked rice (*pāhidum*) per diem, while his attendants (*payiṇḍa-kārayō*) and other officials received cooked food (*aḍukku*), for the

57. *Wahalapitiya Happugedera Yaka vs. Dawundagedera Polinguwa*, BJC 18-9-1822. (CGA 23/7).

58. The *uḍa gabadāva* had two villages in Four Kōraḷēs, one in Valapanē, and the rest in the *uḍa raṭa* (four in Dumbara, five in Hēvāhāṭa, two in Yaṭinuvara including Pērādeṇiya). BJC 1818, in Crawford, 1888.

59. cf. Bell (1892). 115.

60. Wright (1818).

61. A *vaṭṭōruva*, or order addressed to a local official. The Chiefs distinguished between the style of a *vaṭṭōruva* and a *siṭṭuva* : in the former, the date, family name and titles of the king (besides his official title) are not given (BC in Lawrie Mss. III).

62. *Mulligammuve Disava vs. Rambukvelle Punchirala* (BJC 1-2-1817), (CGA 23/2).

63. BJC 27-11-1827 (Lawrie Mss. III). The royal villages frequently mentioned in this connection are Gampoḷa and Bōvatta.



preparation of which the *gammühē* of each village visited was responsible, in recompense for which he held certain *gamvasam* lands. But since the *gabaḍā nilamēs* were also palace officials frequently in residence at the *maha vāsala*,<sup>64</sup> they had under them a regular staff to assist in the administration of the royal villages.

The *gabaḍāvas* had numerous officials attached to them, and provided personnel for the four festivals (*gabaḍāva hatara paṁtiyē rājakāriya*),<sup>65</sup> as well as man-power for the army.<sup>66</sup> The *maha gabaḍāva* had four *lēkams* and four *kankāṇams* appointed by the king on the recommendation of the *gabaḍā nilamē*. The *lēkams* were charged with keeping accounts of things stored and issued. They made periodic visits to the *gabaḍā* villages, sometimes accompanied by soldiers with guns, and made lists of *vasams* or lands liable to service, and those which were abandoned (*purappādu*), in order to keep the Lands Rolls or *lēkam-miṭi* up to date. The *kankāṇams* guarded the storehouse, and opened and closed the doors. Four *gēbalanarālas*,<sup>67</sup> "watchers of the house," took care of things within the store in relation to their packing, unpacking, and preservation.

Forty eight paid *payiṇḍakārayō*, partly slaves, were employed in the ordinary business of the establishment, carrying burdens to and from the storehouse, cleaning, and conveying messages (*pani-vidā*) and were each given an allowance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *amuṇams* of paddy per annum. The *āracci* or chief of the male servants, received  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *amuṇams*. Six women, employed in bringing firewood and water, and cooking, were paid at the rate of 2 *riḍi* per month.<sup>68</sup> They were in charge of the *vitaraṇṇā vidān* who received  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *amuṇams*. The *tekkāra muhandiram* was chief of the people who provided oil for the temples and villages, and received  $6\frac{1}{2}$  *amuṇams*. Sixteen boys were employed to sweep and clean the store, to cut and bring plantain leaves, and to carry torches. They were each paid 4 *salli* per diem and were supervised by a *muhandiram* who received a paddy allowance of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  *amuṇams*. The *muhandiram* also went to the chiefs' houses in Kandy to collect dues, and apprehended the *vidānas* for failure.

The *uḍa gabaḍāva* had three *lēkams*, three *kankāṇams*, three *gēbalanarālas*, one *muhandiram*, a *piṭa viyaduma vidāna* (who went to the houses of the chiefs, collected and demanded government

64. The *nilamēs* of the three *gabaḍāvas* were sometimes all in residence cf. D'Oyly *Diary*, 23-10-1810.

65. That is, the New Year, Kātti, Alut sāl, and the Perahāra (cf. Part 3 Appendix II).

66. "Thousands of able Young Men, at the rate of one to each family from the *gabaḍā* villages assembled at Kandy, with fixed pay of 1 *pagoda* for 2 Men per Month are now drilling." (D'Oyly's *Diary*, 24-11-1810).

67. Davy (1821), 151. D'Oyly renders the word *gabanarāḷa*, also *geybana-āḷa*.

68. One of these, the *korḷe mahagē*, received 3 *riḍi*.

duties, and apprehended *vidānas* for failure), thirteen servants, and four women, with similar duties and allowances as their counterparts in the principal storehouse.<sup>69</sup> "The annual allowances of paddy were paid from certain villages in Four Koraḷēs and Seven Koraḷēs. After the persons to whom wages were due had obtained written orders in Kandy they proceeded into the country and sometimes received paddy, or if the inhabitants had expended it or by neglect had left the fields unsown, recovered money in lieu of it at such rates as they could agree on or were able to exact."<sup>70</sup>

A statement by the *mananna* or measurer of the Gampola royal fields mentions some of the duties of certain *gabaḍā* officials.<sup>71</sup> The *mananna* measured paddy collected from the royal fields, measuring the crop first at the threshing-floor, and afterwards near the *aṭuva* or barn of the store (which was in charge of the *aṭuva*-keeper), in the presence of the *lēkam*, *kankāṇam* and *appuhāmi*, and kept accounts. When he measured an *amuṇam* he told the *lēkam*, who noted it down. The *lēkam*'s presence was necessary when paddy was taken out of the *aṭuva* by authorised persons—the *appuhāmi*, for instance, was entitled to take rice for his daily requirements.

Lands within the *gabaḍāgam* belonged to one of three classes—the *mutteṭṭuva* or lord's demesne; the *paṁgu* or portions of the superior tenants; the *nila paṁgu* or holdings of the inferior tenants. The *mutteṭṭuva* was "the absolute property of the Sovran, for whom it was cultivated and to whose granary its crop was delivered by certain *pravēni* tenants or *paṁgukārayō*, generally five in number who held from generation to generation the *paṁgu*."<sup>72</sup> These tenants cultivated the *mutteṭṭu* entirely at their expense, the seed alone being supplied from the king's store in the village.<sup>73</sup>

The *paṁgu* or portions were *pravēni* lands held on condition of services performed by the proprietors or *paṁgukārayō*.<sup>74</sup> In course of time the original *paṁgu* were invariably sub-divided, and several members of the family would take over the services in turn. Hence arose the *taṭṭumāru* system of cultivation, admirably described by Sir John Phear:

69. BC, 2-10-1816 (in Crawford. 1896).

70. *Ibid.*

71. BJC, 25-3-1817, (CGA 23/2).

72. Sharpe (1818). The commonly used numeral 5, like the number 18, should not be taken literally. Such numbers seem to have some magical properties.

73. Wright (1818).

74. *Pravēni* title has been incorrectly defined even by authorities like D'Oyly, as "private property of the individual—property long possessed by his family, but so called also if recently acquired in fee simple." In fact, *pravēni* land was held by a hereditary tenant who could not be dispossessed except for non-rendering of service, per contra *māruvena* land, held at will (cf. Lawrie Mss. III).



'Sometimes the enjoyment of the property is by *taṭṭumāru* succession. The subject is supposed to be divided into as many equal parts as will just admit of the proportionate share of each coparcener [*taṭṭumāru paṃgukārayā*] being represented by an integral number of these parts; and then instead of an actual division being made accordingly, and every shareholder obtaining his proper number of parts, each takes the entirety for the same number of seasons as he is entitled to parts, giving it up at the end of such period of time to the sharer who stands next in the rota, in order that he may similarly hold it for his own number of seasons; and so on for all the shareholders in turn. Thus if A, B, and C were jointly entitled to a paddy field in undivided shares proportionate to 2, 3 and 4 i.e., to a 2/9th, 1/3rd, 4/9th share of the whole respectively, then by this method of enjoyment A would take the whole field for two years, after him B for three years, and after B again C would take it for four years; and then the set of turns would be repeated in the same order, for successive periods of nine years, until some sharer should insist upon having an actual partition of the fields.'<sup>75</sup>

The services to which the *paṃgukārayō* were liable consisted of:—

(a) honorary attendance on the *disāva* or chief of the district and local representative of the sovereign when he appeared before the king. *Paṃgukārayō* attended the *disāva* on his journey to and from the capital (but not when travelling within his district, when the chief had other attendants, and at levees, carrying his *koḍi* (banner), *pattisāna* (javelin), *avupata* (sunshade or parasol), *kastāna* (sword), and *vaḍanā talapata* (umbrella).

(b) responsibility for the due cultivation, care, and delivery at the royal granary of the annual crop of the pangu's sowing-extent of the *mutteṭṭuva*. In the actual work of cultivation, the *paṃgukārayō* were assisted by the *nilakārayō* who occupied the *nila-paṃgu*.

In the provinces, *nila-paṃgu*, "generally at the rate of one *amuṇam* a man, which were distributed yearly by the *disāva* as he thought fit to the *nilakārayō* who as tenants-at-will held their lands in return for their labour of cultivating the *mutteṭṭu* field (for the safe delivery of the crop of which the *paṃgukārayō* were responsible) and of carrying the produce to the local granary, and to Kandy when ordered, and of doing I believe any other work at the residence of the *disāva* whose servants, *vāḍakārayō*, they were regarded as in virtue of his being the local representative of the Sovran."<sup>76</sup> But holders of *nila-paṃgu* were not always tenants-at-will, for there was a class of *pravēṇi nilakārayō* in some *gabaḍāgam*.

In fact, the distinction between *paṃgukārayō* and *nilakārayō* was subtle indeed. It would appear that their status and tenurial basis in royal villages depended on the origin of the *gama*. Some were ancient villages which had always been in the king's hands, such as

75. Phear (1880).

76. Sharpe (1869).

those in *Ūva* which were never alienated from the crown.<sup>77</sup> Here, none of the *nilakārayō* had any hereditary right to their holdings,<sup>78</sup> and half of the produce of their lands went to the crown. On the other hand, in royal villages which had been confiscated from chiefs—that is, erstwhile *nindagam*—which predominated in Sabaragamuva, the king enjoyed the *mutteṭṭu* fields which were cultivated by the tenants. Here some at least of the *nilakārayō* were tenants-at-will, changed at the option of the *vidāna* of the village. But elsewhere it appears that *nilakārayō* who held their lands on a *pravēṇi* tenure were scarcely distinguishable from *paṃgukārayō*. These tenancies and statuses became even more complicated when *gabaḍāgam* were granted to individuals as *nindagam*.

77. Wright (1818).

78. BC, 3-3-1829, (CGA 38).



## V VIDĀNAGAM

A SPECIAL type of *gabaḍāgam*, designated *vidānagam*, were usually inhabited by low caste persons liable to public services of a menial kind. Those known as *batgam*, "rice villages," were inhabited by the lowly *paduvō* whose principal service it was to bear palanquins. In the *uḍa raṭa* the *vidānagam* were administered by the *maha nilamē* himself or by a *vidāna* under his supervision, and not by the *gabaḍā nilamē*. Hence these royal villages formed a class apart from the *gabaḍāgam* proper attached to the *gabaḍāvas*. In the provinces, *vidānagam* were administered by the *disāva* during his tenure of office. In Sabaragamuva the *disāva* derived a grain revenue from the *mutteṭṭu* fields, and in lieu of *aṇḍa* and *otu* from the other holdings, exacted fees, fines, and gratuitous personal services.<sup>79</sup> At times the *disāva* would appoint a *vidāna* to administer the village and enjoy its revenues, in consideration of a *bulatsurulla*.<sup>80</sup>

79. Wright (1818).

80. For the fees payable by the *vidānas* of Sabaragamuva, vide Part 3, Appendix I.

## VI ROYAL GRANTS OF LAND

CŪLAVAMSA records many royal grants and confiscations of land in ancient times, while there is inscriptional evidence of bestowals of immunities from visitations by royal officials.<sup>81</sup> Dhātusēna (reg. A.D. 515-523) deprived nobles who attached themselves to Tamils of their villages.<sup>82</sup> Vijaya Bāhu I (reg. A.D. 1056-1111) a poet, gave heritable villages (*pāli* : *pavenigama*) to authors of poems,<sup>83</sup> and Parākrama Bāhu II (reg. A.D. 1234-1269) allocated villages to religious orders and to individuals.<sup>84</sup> These instances of allocations and confiscations by the monarch suggest that the Dry Zone villages in the vicinity of the ancient capitals were not always the self-governing communities into which they were transmuted in later Kandyan times. As far as land tenure was concerned, at any rate, the ancient social structure was probably akin to the organization of the *uḍa raṭa* villages in Kandyan times. Social continuity is manifest even in the formalities of royal grants, the ancient practice of public announcement of grants by officials, heralded by drummers,<sup>85</sup> being customary even in the Kandyan period.

In Kandyan times a royal grant of land could be made either orally or by a written deed.<sup>86</sup> Verbal grants were usually accompanied by the symbolic transfer of a *kāṭa sākkiya*, or token, to the grantee. Kīrti Śrī on different occasions gave a ring to seal up rice-bags,<sup>87</sup> a chank-shell,<sup>88</sup> and two bangles,<sup>89</sup> to grantees of land. A

81. cf. *EZ.* IV, No. 22.

82. *Clv*, 38.38.

83. *Ibid.*, 60.75.

84. *Ibid.*, 84. 1-4 ; 86. 53-54.

85. Perera (1949) II. 530. The phrase *ek tān-samiya* (Malaganē Pillar Inscription, *EZ.* IV, No. 22) signifies the assembling together of the dignitaries on the occasion of the delivery of an order by the king or heir-apparent. When lands were dedicated to temples, it was customary to pour water from a golden vase into the hands of the donee (Rock Inscription of Bhati Abhaya, identified by S. Paranavitāna as Maha Cūla Mahatissa, reg. c B.C. 17-3, *EZ.* III, No. 12).

86. In the case of *maḍuva* lands, written grants were considered *pravēṇi*, while oral grants were assumed to be temporary (*Maskeliyagedera Hingappu vs. Maskeliyagedera Kiralle*, BJC 28-9-1821, CGA 23/8).

87. *Dedigama Talgaspitiya Lekam vs. Dedigama Mohottala*, BJC 20-10-1817 (CGA 23/3).

88. BJC 11-10-1819 (in Lawrie Mss).

89. *Aramandeniya Tikirala vs. Kanganagedera Appu*, BJC 9-8-1820, (CGA 23/31). For further data cf. Pieris (1955).



written voucher was known as a *sannasa* if it was inscribed on a copper plate and bore the king's seal, *Srī*;<sup>90</sup> if written on a palm-leaf it was described as a *tuḍa-pata*, literally "mouth-leaf."<sup>91</sup> A *vadārapanatin siṭṭuwa* was a deed executed on the king's order by the *adhikārama* and like a *sannasa*, implied a grant in *pravēni*.<sup>92</sup> On one occasion the palm-leaf voucher having become rotten and worm-eaten, a holder paid a thousand *ridi* to the King's treasury (*maha aramudala*), and obtained a copper-plate instead.<sup>93</sup>

A royal grant was read over to the king after it was written, but it need not be delivered in his presence; the grantee, on receiving it from the *adhikārama*, prostrated himself in the precincts of the palace, facing the room in which the king was supposed to be at the time.<sup>94</sup> It was a common practice for a recipient of a *sannasa* to have all the hereditary lands of his family included in the deed in his own name, although he may have had an immediate interest only in a small portion of the whole. This practice did not prejudice the rights of other claimants in the family,<sup>95</sup> such deeds being prized merely as permanent records of the consequence of the family, and preserved as patents of pedigree, along with genealogies, etc.<sup>96</sup> If the individual possessor of part of the estate was ignorant of the inclusion of his property in the *sannasa*, or had no means of paying a *bulatsurulla* to prevent it, a law-suit generally ensued afterwards, and the case was heard and decided on its own merits without reference to the *sannasa*.<sup>97</sup>

When land grants were made by the king, it was customary for the fact to be published by *kaṭubulla* and *atapattu* messengers who were sent along with the grantee into the district or province where the land lay, the decree being read aloud in public in the village in

90. According to the chiefs certain *sannas* were deficient in the royal seal *Srī* (*Dedagodagedera Kiri Etena vs. Mhottigedera Ranhamy*, BJC 25-1-1821. CGA 23/32).

91. Niśsanka Malla (reg. A.D. 1187-1196) claimed to have first introduced copper plate grants (*EZ*, II, p. 166). A rare instance of a gold plate was recently discovered at Vallipuram (*EZ*, V, No. 29). Extant palm-leaf deeds date back only to Kīrti Śrī's reign, probably due to their perishability. *Mhv.* (33.50), records that King Vatta Gamani (reg. B.C. 43-17) allotted lands to a temple, recording the grant on a ketaka-leaf (*Pandanus Odoratissimus*).

92. Per Dehigama Disāva, BJC 1-3-1825 (CGA 23/14, Pt. ii).

93. *The Madige Vidan of Hettimulla vs. The Mohottala of Dadigam, in Four Korales* (BJC 27-10-1916, CGA 23/1).

94. Per Dehigama Diyavaḍana Nilame, BJC 1-3-1825 (CGA 23/14, Pt. ii).

95. This was openly declared by the last king himself when he restored the Dunuvilla estate to the Millava family, although the *sannasa* was made out in the name of the Disāva of Vellasa (BJC 3-6-1826 in Lawrie Mss. III).

96. Thus the chiefs decided that the *sannas*, *siṭṭu* and genealogical writing produced by Javira Accila should remain with him as head of the family (BJC 11-10-1821 in Lawrie Mss. III).

97. BJC, 20-8-1826 (CGA 28).

question, and a *bōla* tied to a nearby tree or post as a warning that the king's land should not be disturbed. In fact, it was even customary when provincial chiefs made grants of land, for *atapattu* messengers to be sent to the village to publish the fact.<sup>98</sup> The grant was then entered in the Land Rolls (*lēkam miṭi*) so that dues and services could be regularly exacted.

No holder of royal lands could change his service without the king's permission. Lands granted in consideration of *maḍuva* service could not be alienated even to the holder's heir at law, without representation to the king but this was exceptional, and a grantee was generally at liberty to alienate his holding by sale, gift, or will, and the transfer could be executed either orally,<sup>99</sup> or by written deed.<sup>100</sup> Thus land held for the service of *talpat*-bearer to the king could be alienated, the transferee performing the *rāja-kāriya* himself, or providing a substitute;<sup>101</sup> in the time of the last king a holder of land charged with this service, being disinclined to accompany the king to Vakoya gave his chunam-box as a *kāṭa sākkiya*, and made a symbolic transfer of his land.<sup>102</sup> Again, an old man summoned to join the troops went with his sword and musket, but being unable to perform service he gave the sword and gun to another and made over his land on condition that he should be maintained during his life.<sup>103</sup> The transferee being liable to perform the service attached to the land, high-caste persons seldom purchased lands of lower castes, especially if the service was that of any handicraft or menial kind.<sup>104</sup>

98. *Hippule Lekam vs. Ovitte*, BJC 3-4-1817 (CGA 23/2); *Angamana Lekam vs. Gollehelle Lekam*, BJC 24-4-1823 (CGA 23/10); *The Government of Ceylon vs. Batembura Korala*, BJC 7-1-1831 (CGA 23/26). *Mātālē Disāva Kaḍa im-pota* states that grants relating to Mātālē were publicly proclaimed at the great *bō*-tree at Padivita.

99. Thus an uncle gave his nephew a knife inscribed with the king's seal which was the *sannasa* of the land transferred (BJC, 19-9-1817 in Lawrie Mss. III). Again, at the time of the Vakoya expedition, one Appurāla being sick, he dispatched a substitute, "giving a sword, and declaring that by that token he made him heir to his lands." (*Korallegedera Kiralle vs. Korallegedera Menika Etana*, BJC 25-8-1825, CGA 23/16).

100. For procedural details, cf. Pieris (1955).

101. *Oudooville Gebanarala vs. Gurruhamy*, BJC 13-3-1817 (CGA 23/2).

102. BJC, 7-10-1817 (Lawrie Mss. III).

103. BC, 6-8-1819 (*ibid*).

104. RCD, 24-2-1817 (*ibid*).



## VII

## NINDAGAM

CERTAIN royal lands (*gabaḍāgam*), when granted to individuals, were known as *nindagam*. These estates were situated in the provinces,<sup>105</sup> there being few or no *nindagam* in the *uḍa raṭa*. Most, if not all, *nindagam* were bestowed as perquisites of office, and could be resumed by the crown. "A *nindagama* is a royal village made over by the crown to a private person : generally the *gamladda* or proprietor of a *nindagama* is entitled to the whole of the dues and services formerly rendered to the crown by persons possessing portions of land in such villages."<sup>106</sup> *Nindagam* grants were entered in the Land Rolls (*lēkam miṭi*). Thus Variyagam Nilamē got two villages in Sabaragamuva entered in the *lēkam miṭiya* as one *nindagama*, with the permission of the king, as it would not have been legally binding without royal sanction. He also gave a horse to the king, who granted him a *gabaḍāgama* called Kugavālla as a *nindagama*. The latter was an *atapattu* village and was erased from the list of *atapattu* villages in the *lēkam miṭiya*, and entered by interlineation in the list of *nindagam*. Instead of sending men to Kandy for *atapattu rājakāriya*, the *valarva* now paid five *kat* and five *ridis* as *nindagam* dues to the *disāva*. The *pālkārayo* or tenants resident in the village were no longer liable for *atapattu* service, and could not be called upon for fees by the *atapattu nilamē* of the district.<sup>107</sup>

The *nindagama* being the only perquisite of an office for which the holder had to pay a fee on appointment and an annual *dākuma* to the sovereign, the benefit of the grant was "that all the Profits [*gam mudal*] which before the King received from those Towns, now accrues unto the King's Officer. These Towns are composed of all sorts of Trades and People that are necessary for his service to whom the King hath given them ; a Potter, a Smith, a Washer. And there is a piece of Land according to the ability of the Town, which the Townsmen are to Till and manure, and to lay up the

105. They were particularly important in Sabaragamuva, Ūva, Mātālē, Three Kōraḷes, Four Kōraḷes, and Seven Kōraḷes (Turnour. 1824).

106. BC. 8-6-1819 (CGA, A/933B). "It appears that the proprietor of the *nindagam* stand in the same relation to the occupier of the *añḍē* and *otu* lands as the king does to the inhabitants of the royal villages" (BC, Minute of 27-10-1818, CGA 21/111).

107. *Ran Etana vs. Variyagam Valarva Mahatmaya*, Ratnapura, BJC 19-4-1822 (CGA 23/6).

Corn for his use."<sup>108</sup> In other words, the *gamladda* or recipient of the *nindagama*<sup>109</sup> made himself lord paramount over the villagers on the estate, exempting them from special state service by paying a nominal tribute of five pieces of silver (*ridi*) to the sovereign at his annual "appearance" in Kandy (*dākum maṅgalla*).<sup>110</sup> Besides enjoying the revenues and services of the village, the *gamladda* ruled it. He had jurisdiction in all inferior cases, including land suits, which arose among the villagers,<sup>111</sup> but the exact limits of his jurisdiction depended on his official status : if he was a *disāva* he could adjudicate in all cases short of capital crimes.<sup>112</sup>

In the case of lands within a *nindagama* held in consideration of service under any state department, or under a temple, the holders were independent of the *gamladda*, and if the latter could not protect his "tenants" from being called upon to perform public service, if he allowed or could not prevent them from performing such service, he forfeited his own claim to their services.<sup>113</sup> Thus a *gamladda* who enjoyed the services of being furnished with a couple of buffaloes for ploughing his fields four times a year, of having the banks of these fields repaired, of having rice carried when he went on journeys, "and other little services," complained that registration of the holding of a "tenant" for *atapattu* service, deprived him of the services which he had so long enjoyed.<sup>114</sup> Exemption of

108. Knox (1681), 80-81. "Village" (*gama*), is here described as "town."

109. Alt. *gam himi svāmiya* (cf. Ekanayaka in *SSS*), with the same import as *gamladda* or recipient of a village, but with specific reference to his function as overlord or ruler (*svāmi* = lord, master). *Baṇḍāra* or lord was more common hence *baṇḍāra* lands for the lord's demesne.

110. Turnour (1824). *dākuma*, literally "seeing," and the parallel *penuma* or "appearance" were terms used for the annual tributes paid to the sovereign.

111. BJC, 3-6-1825 (Lawrie Mss. III).

112. D'Oyly (1835), 66-67.

113. *Ibid.* Certain villages in Three Kōraḷes known as *gallat-gam* or *gamlat-gam*, were held on a peculiar tenure, viz. the grantee had no other right than that of having the *mutteṭṭu* or lord's field cultivated for himself by his "tenants," while the latter were liable to pay certain dues to the royal stores and perform services to the crown. "It appears the crown in making the grants reserved a part of the services of the people to its use" (BC. Proceedings, Audience Hall, Kandy, 8-6-1819, CGA. A/6B). Such villages were also found in Beligal Kōraḷ and Four Kōraḷes. The term *gamladda* is not confined to a grantee of this type of village (Codrington, 1939, 26).

114. *Bulunowe vs. Illipangomuwe koralā*, BJC 13-2-1823 (CGA 23/9). In *Talampitiya Dinga vs. Talampitiya Bayah*, BJC 17-4-1822 (CGA 23/6), it was held that appellant who held one *amunam* was to perform state *rājakāriya* for the whole village of three *amunams*, being the tenure on which he possessed the land, but that he was not liable to village *rājakāriya* for the benefit of the lord. Likewise, certain tenants paying *otu* to a lord, and also compelled to perform state service, lodged a complaint before Galagoḍa Adhikārama (*Malweria vs. Demodere Mohottala*, BJC 25-9-1817 (CGA 23/3)).



*nindagam* holdings from service to the *gamladda* on account of state service did not, of course, apply to *kada-rājakāriya* or pingo-duty, which was an universal impost on all land-holders levied by the crown.<sup>115</sup> Thus land held for service to Ambanvala Rāla, "the lord of the village," also paid *kat-hāl* to the royal store (*gabaḍāva*).<sup>116</sup> Further, *nindagam* were bound to serve the sovereign in wartime and in urgent public works.<sup>117</sup>

The resident land-holders became "tenants" (*nilakārayō*) of the *gamladda*,<sup>118</sup> and certain inferior "tenants" were obliged to cultivate that portion of the *nindagama* known as the *mutteṭṭuva* or lord's demesne,<sup>119</sup> which often constituted only a fifth or sixth part of the estate.<sup>120</sup> D'Oyly states that the *mutteṭṭu* land was cultivated either on a *ninda* or *aṇḍa* tenure: "1st. *ninda mutteṭṭu*, which is sown entirely and gratuitously for the benefit of the proprietor, grantee, or chief, by other persons [*nilakārayō*], in consideration of the lands which they possess; 2nd. *aṇḍa mutteṭṭu*, which is sown by anyone without obligation, on the usual condition of giving one-half of the crop to the proprietor."<sup>121</sup> Thus, in an ancestral *nindagama* containing two *hēvānennūhē*, one *nūkatiya*, two *paṭabāṇḍi*, and two *durayā* holdings, the *durayās* alone cultivated two *amuṇams* of the *mutteṭṭuva*, while the remaining eight *amuṇams* were given out in *aṇḍa*. The other holdings (*paṭabāṇḍi* etc.) were exempt from any obligation to the lord of the village by virtue of state service.<sup>122</sup>

115. cf. post. 3 (iii)

116. *Ambanvala Vedarala vs. Nedeniya Appu*, BJC 3-7-1819, (CGA 23/5). Under the British, a grain-tax was substituted for *kat-hāl*. But Sawers, the Judicial Commissioner, stated in *Delgoda Kudarala vs. Pannelle Mudiyanse*, BJC 15-9-1826, (CGA 23/20), that "the appellant withheld rent from his landlord [*gamladda*] upon a very erroneous but very general opinion which now prevails, viz. that the imposition of the government general grain-tax of one-tenth of the crop, releases all the holders of land under private superiors, on *otu* or small-service-tenure, from paying the *otu* or performing the small service to the superior under whom they hold their lands."

117. Turnour (1824).

118. The English terms "proprietor" and "tenant" have no equivalents in the Sinhalese land-tenure vocabulary. Hence the inverted commas.

119. Alt. *gamladda-paṇḍuva*, or *baṇḍāra bim*.

120. Turnour (1824). But in the village of Nivitigala granted to Doloswella Disāva, the *mutteṭṭuva* was only 16 *amuṇams* in extent, while the holdings of the "tenants" totalled 217 *amuṇams*.

121. D'Oyly (1835), 54. The least fertile land might be given out on an *otu* basis, the proprietor receiving a tithe of the produce. In *Walpola Korala vs. Rakke Unnanse*, BJC 18-12-1817 (CGA 23/3) a holder complained that the village lord attempted to convert the *otu* tenure to *ninda*.

122. *Ambuwangalla Vedarala vs. Ambuwangalla Dugganmarala of Four Korales*, BJC 15-5-1819 (CGA 23/5).

Although *nindagam* "tenants" were described as *nilakārayō*, and their holdings *nilapaṇḍu*, these *nilakārayō* became highly differentiated in Kandyan times. In order to ascertain the nature of their tenure, it is necessary to consider two difficult questions: the permanency of *nindagam* holdings, and the nature of the services rendered to the lord of the village. In certain cases, *nilapaṇḍu* were held on a *māruvena* (changing) or *sārāmāru* (temporary) tenure, on condition of cultivating the lord's *mutteṭṭuva* and performing other menial services. The relationship could be terminated at the instance of either party. Such a *nilakārayā* was liable to be called upon to give up his holding on the annual rent-day of the estate,<sup>123</sup> or at any time if he failed to perform his services.<sup>124</sup> On the other hand, the *nilakārayā* could quit service by tilling his allotment of the *mutteṭṭuva* once, repairing the bunds of the fields, and planting a *malpāla* or bunch of flowers in token of the ground having been prepared for the ensuing season. His obligations thus concluded, he was free to leave the estate.<sup>125</sup> But it often happened that these servants, though liable to dismissal, were seldom evicted, having acquired, as it were, a birth-right by long residence and possession, and being content to perform the customary services to the lord.

The odium attached to one "tied to the soil" was unknown among the Sinhalese, and it is necessary to disabuse our minds of the modern notion that the servile position of a *nilakārayā* hinged on the fact that he was "tied to the soil." Indeed, it was the very fact that he could be evicted that made a *nilakārayā* inferior to one whose privilege it was to be tied to the soil, or rather to tie himself to his inherited land. It often happened that *nilakārayō* were in residence prior to the receipt of the village by the *gamladda*, some "tenants" having inherited their holdings from remote ancestors, thus acquiring what had come to be recognised as *pravēṇi* title. Indeed, the mere fact of a "tenant" who had inherited as heir dying in possession, raised a presumption of *pravēṇi* title in favour of his heirs at law.<sup>126</sup> In the provinces, in particular, such *pravēṇi nilapaṇḍu* were the rule, and the *pravēṇi nilakārayō* in possession could not be ejected by the *gamladda* as long as they rendered the customary dues and services. In these estates the *gamladda*, while retaining absolute control of the *mutteṭṭu* lands, "cannot touch a spadeful of earth in the other lands of the village, but only dispose of the personal services of the people according to custom."<sup>127</sup> In other words, the real owners of these lands were, to all intents and purposes, the *nilakārayō*, the village lords having a mere contingent interest in them.<sup>128</sup>

123. Sir J. F. Dickson, *STC Report* (AR, 1870, p. 443).

124. BC, 11-11-1819 (Lawrie Mss., III).

125. D'Oyly (1835), 76.

126. Berwick, "Judicial Report" (in *Papers on Service Tenures*, 1869).

127. Mitford, *Memorandum on Serfdom* (1868).

128. Berwick, *op. cit.*



Since the office by virtue of which a village lord held his *nindagama* might be hereditary, the relationship between the *gamladda* and his long-standing "tenants" was usually of a friendly character, and when the connection remained unbroken for several generations, gave rise to a strong feeling of attachment and loyalty on the part of the villagers. The lord, for his part, acted the part of a man of consequence, and was naturally loth to sacrifice the luxury of a host of menials at his beck and call:

'On the estates of the chiefs and large landowners (*nindagam*) the services... are of the greatest possible variety. Chiefs and *mudiyaṅsēta* perform various honorary services. [*Goyigama*] tenants cultivate the home farm [*mutteṭṭu*], accompany their lord on journeys, take their turn in duty at the manor-house [*valavva*]. *Durē* tenants carry baggage and the lord's palanquin, while the *valumpurē* carry the palanquins of the ladies of the family and also provide for the service of the kitchen; and though there is a complete absence of equality and system in the remuneration given for domestic services, all such services are provided for with the utmost care. A chief with several villages will draw his cook or his bath-boy for two or three months a year from one village, from another for four months, from a third for one month, &c. carefully arranging to have one throughout the year. There are the potter to make the tiles and supply earthenware; the smith to clean the brass vessels, and repair and make agricultural implements; the chunam-burner to supply lime; the *dhobi* or washerman, the mat-weaver (*kinṇaraya*) and the outcaste *roḍiya*, who buries the carcases of animals that die on the estate, and supplies ropes, &c. made of hide and fibres. Others supply pack-bullocks for the transport of the produce of the fields, and for bringing supplies of salt and curd fish from the towns on the coast'.<sup>129</sup>

The organization of the lord's estate, with its numerous attendants and dependants, required the employment of special *valavva* officials who were also given tracts of land for their services. The *vidāna* of the manor, for instance, kept regular accounts of receipts and payments on account of the *valavva* in the manorial Land Rolls (*valavva lēkam miṭi*).<sup>130</sup> In the estates of the chiefs, particularly the *disāvas*, the *valavva* or manor-house was a demi-official establishment. The chiefs were frequently kept away from their estates on state service in Kandy, and were allowed certain officials such as *valavva-mohottālas* to look after their interests at home.

The *valavva* itself was an unpretentious mud-wattled structure with the roof tiled with hooked tiles (*koku ulu*). The range of buildings was raised on a low terrace, and consisted of two rows, one opposite the other, joined together on each side by a wall, and enclosing a square centre-yard (*māda midula*). The buildings were always of a single storey and comprised a series of square rooms interconnected by narrow doors, presenting blank walls externally, and having one or two entrances into the court-yard. The abodes

129. Dickson, *STC Report (AR 1870)*, p. 76.

130. Statement by Chiefs in *Sivasuperamanipulle vs. Molligoda*, 1st Adikar, BJC 15-1-1821 (CGA 23/32).

of the great were "handsom and commodious" according to the number of these rooms. Bell describes the construction of the eighteenth-century *Levkē valavva* in Kāgalla: "The massive doors and clumsy rafters, rough hewn from single trunks, recall days when saw and plane were unknown. A single beam, 30 ft. in length which formed part of the woodwork of the *maḍuva*, serves as a useful *ēdaṇḍa* to span a neighbouring streamlet."<sup>131</sup> The rooms were dark, the windows being openings in the walls hardly large enough to admit a human head, and the doors so small that one must creep through them doubled up. The clay floors were plastered with cow-dung, used for the sake of cleanliness, and to keep off insects. The mud walls were covered with a white clay wash, the use of lime being prohibited, and reserved exclusively for the palace and temples. Against the walls of the house there were banks of clay to sit on, daubed over with soft cow-dung "to keep them smooth and clean."<sup>132</sup> The adjacent *maḍuva* was the venue of the chief's official business, while an *aṭuva* stored his grain. There usually was a small family *vihāra* close by, and the immediate servants and slaves of the lord dwelt with their families in smaller dwellings around the *valavva*.<sup>133</sup>

Besides the fact of permanency of tenure, the other criterion for determining the relation between *gamladda* and "tenant" was the nature of the latter's service. If the complex web of social relations was to be maintained without usurpation of rights and statuses, an accurate definition of the duties and services of "tenants" would appear to have been a *sine qua non*, and in certain cases the services were defined with precision, particularly when duties were apportioned on a caste basis. Thus in a *nindagama* of Āhālēpoḷa Adhi-kārama, sixteen *hangīḍiyō* (smiths) originating from Four Kōraḷēs, cultivated twelve *amūṇams* of land, paying specified dues and services at the four festivals. At the *perahāra*, for example, they brought sixteen flag-staffs (one for each man), thirty-two sticks for dancers, sixteen painted sticks, as well as wax for sealing pots. In addition, two *hangīḍiyō* kept guard (*mura*) at the Āhālēpoḷa *valavva*, being relieved every fifteen days, in lieu of which service they could pay one piece of silver (*mura riḍi*).<sup>134</sup>

But the complexity of tenures and service-classes was a fruitful source of confusion, particularly when the services demanded by the lord were indefinite, as in the case of the "tenants" of one Dingiri Nayide who stated that they cultivated the lord's fields and did anything he ordered them.<sup>135</sup> And although practically every estate

131. Bell (1892), 44.

132. Knox (1681), 138.

133. Sources: Knox (1681), 137-138; Heydt (1744); Davy (1821), 255-256; Bell (1892), 44.

134. BJC, 24-1-1818, before John D'Oyly (CGA 23/4).

135. *Pannikage Podiya vs. Wedige Kaluhamy*, BJC, 23-4-1822, (CGA 23/6).



of any magnitude in the kingdom had its *nilakārapamgu* dependent on it, the definition of a *nilakārayā* was uncertain. He was, roughly speaking, a "service-tenant." Some holdings (*pamgu*) and "tenants" were distinguished by special names, but when there was no special name, *nilapamgu* and *nilakārayō* really comprehended all kinds of holdings and classes of tenants.<sup>136</sup> In certain contexts, the term *nilakārayā* was used with more precision to indicate an inferior status or tenure, the superior "tenants," usually holding on a *pravēṇi* tenure, being known as *pamgukārayō*.<sup>137</sup>

Sharpe classifies the service due to the *gamladda* from the *pamgu-kārayō* as follows :

i. Laborious—the cultivation, care, and safe delivery at the *valavva* granary of the *pamgu*'s sowing-extent of the *mutteṭṭuwa*. That is, these "tenants" were liable to work a part of the lord's fields, from ploughing to storing, the *mutteṭṭuwa* being apportioned among them for this purpose so that each *pamgukārayā* worked a portion of the lord's fields in proportion to his own holding.

ii. Honorary attendance on the *gamladda* on

- (a) public occasions—on journeys, when he had to appear before the king, on which occasions the *pamgukārayō* may all be summoned and carried the lord's insignia of office, such as *sēsaths*, &c.
- (b) domestic occasions at the lord's *valavva*, at marriages &c. on which occasions the *pamgukārayō* were entitled to hospitable reception and special attention (beds, mats, etc.), and at the funeral of the chief.<sup>138</sup>

Sharpe does not distinguish the services of the *pamgukārayō* from those of *nilakārayō*. Indeed the difference was not easily recognised, particularly since there was no record of *nilapamgu* in the Land

136. Lawrie Mss., III (Lands and Land Tenures).

137. In the provinces, particularly in Sabaragamuva, there was a class of "tenant" called *pālkārayō*. *STC* glossary explains that "the *mulpamgukārayā* (original or chief tenant) frequently gets a person to settle on the lands of his *pamguva* in order to have a portion of the services due by him performed by the person so brought in, called the *pālkārayā*, lit. cotter." The provincial *nilakārayō* were inferior to these *pālkārayō*. Thus in the village Talgomuve, Four Kōraḷēs, *nilakārayō* who once cultivated the *ninda mutteṭṭuwa*, served a new grantee as coolies. (D'Oyly 1835-17). Clearly *nilakārayā* is here used in the sense of menial or laborious work. According to Codrington (1938), 26, the *anilakārayā* were tenants with unfixed or indefinite services. They are mentioned in the Portuguese Tombo of Two Kōraḷēs, circa 1622 (HMC Bulletin No. 4. 1936. ed. S. G. Perera.) There was an *anila-badda* in late Kandyan times.

138. Sharpe (1869). It is doubtful, however, whether the statement that the *pamgukārayō* carried the body of their lord to the grave, is accurate.

Rolls (*lēkam miṭi*).<sup>139</sup> Even when their services were accurately defined, it often happened that their relative status was obscured in practice. Thus a person claimed that he lived in the *valavva* of the lord of the village because he had no house of his own, and although he performed little offices for the lord, he did not act as a *nilakārayā*,<sup>140</sup> and it was not uncommon for families to attach themselves in this manner to the *valavva* of a chief, the relationship being purely one of good-will and freedom.<sup>141</sup>

Two types of *nilakārayō* may be distinguished on the basis of the following statement made by Turnour regarding the services of people bound to chiefs by their tenures :

"The services are of two kinds, those rendered by them as a retinue attached to a chief, in upholding his station, and those of a menial kind. The former class are generally divided into three reliefs, each party serving for twenty days alternately; their service consists in carrying messages, in attendance on the chief himself. On certain occasions the chief will call out the whole of his retinue to attend him. The menial classes are engaged in duties performed by domestics about his house; in carrying burthens and in other species of labour. They are usually divided into two reliefs, and consist of persons of inferior caste. If the whole should be called out they are generally fed by the chief, otherwise they feed themselves."<sup>142</sup>

The above statement seems to hinge the basis of *nilakārayā* status on the nature of the service rendered to the lord, but the definition of "menial" service was subtle indeed. The work of a cultivator was never degrading,<sup>143</sup> but the carrying of burdens was.<sup>144</sup>

The difficulty of classifying what services were "menial" is well illustrated in the matter of funeral rites. Slaves were employed to bury the dead and to prepare and offer the funeral oblations at the grave. Low caste *nilakārayō* were also so employed, but not *goyigama nilakārayō*. Moreover, free men buried the dead, but only in the case of their nearest relatives, and this was never regarded as a "menial" service. But a free *goyigama* (i.e., one who was not a slave), even though he may have been a poor *nilakāraya*, could not

139. *Badahalgedera Ukku vs. Dawoode Mudiyansele*, BJC, 21-11-1822, (CGA 23/7).

140. cf. *Iriyagama Mahatmaya vs. Anganawella Ukkuralaya*, BJC, 6-7-1819 (CGA 23/5), where there was great difficulty in deciding whether Kevety Lekam held land of Widekara Lekam as *nilakārayā*, labourer, or *pamgukārayā*.

141. *Unambuwe Basnayaka nilame vs. Yalagoda Vidan*, BJC, 21-8-1823, (CGA 23/10).

142. Evidence of Geo. Turnour Esq., Revenue Commissioner for the Kandyan Provinces, before the Colebrooke Commissioners, Kandy, 2-9-1829. (PRO, CO 416/20).

143. cf. the well-known proverb recorded by Knox : "Take a ploughman from the plough and wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a kingdom."

144. The Javanese comb, a semi-circular ornament worn by low-country nobles on their heads, signified that they never carried burdens.



be compelled to bury the corpse of his lord.<sup>145</sup> Slaves were often employed as *nilakārayō* at the pleasure of a lord, and even advanced to offices on the estates of chiefs.<sup>146</sup>

It may be concluded then that holders of *nilavasam* tenements were for the most part of low caste, or belonged to the lower grades of the *goyigama* caste, or were slaves. Hence the yearly *penuma* of these *nilakārayō* to the village lord, instead of being a *kada* or pingo-load of sweet-meats, consisted of vegetables and contributions of raw or cooked articles of food. They performed undefined domestic and outdoor labour of various and arduous kinds, such as supplying fuel and water to the kitchen and bath, pounding paddy, extracting oil, mudding walls and floors, dragging timber and other building materials, preparing of clay and supplying firewood for the brick and tile kilns, blowing the bellows for the smith and supplying his forge with firewood, breaking limestones, cutting banks and ditches, putting up fences, clearing gardens, sweeping out courtyards and compounds, joining in agricultural operations, carrying palanquins and baggage on journeys, conveying to the lord's *valavva* the *kat* furnished by the superior "tenants," assisting in preparations for festivals, carrying *pandam* in processions such as weddings, funerals, arrival of distinguished visitors, and so on. Besides these services, the *nilakārayō* worked for the *gamladda*'s *vidāna* or for the *gamvasama* for a few days, and carried their baggage on journeys.<sup>147</sup>

Besides the *nilakārayō* there were other classes of "tenants" whose duties were defined by custom, and their services ranged from that of the *ūliyakkarāyā* whose condition was little better than that of a slave, to the individuals who merely paid formal homage to the lord of the village by presenting him with a *penuma* of forty betel leaves. The *nilakōrayā* (including the servile *ūliyakkarāyō*) were "tenants" from whom the lord derived substantial services, but there were other residents on large estates who were not liable to labour for the village lord on account of state employment, who nevertheless paid him formal homage. Thus the *gamvasam* holdings within a *nindagama* rendered the most insignificant dues to the lord of the village.<sup>148</sup>

Sawers enumerates the following service tenures:

1. *ūliyakkarāyā* service, generally performed by *paduvās* and other low caste people, who were liable to carry the chief's palanquin if he was entitled to such conveyance, or to perform other menial service, according to custom.

145. In the appeal of *Ellawella Muhandiram vs. Ratu Ukku*, BJC, 23-10-1824 (CGA 23/13).

146. BC, Procs., 25-7-1829, (Lawrie Mss. III).

147. *STC* Glossary.

148. Sawers' "Remarks on Turnour's *Memorandum*" 18-6-1824.

2. *nilakārayō* who cultivated a portion of the lord's *mutteṭṭuva* and performed the services outlined above.
3. *hēvānennāhē* and *paṭabāṇḍo* people who were always of the *raṭṭe* or *goyigama* caste. They were seldom liable to menial services, particularly in *nindagam* in Four Kōraḷēs. They commonly accompanied their chief on journeys, carrying his *talpat*, watched his fields, or kept guard at his *valavva*.
4. *vatukārayō*, who possessed gardens for which they paid a certain proportion of the produce to the lord, and were generally liable to assist him, on which occasion they were fed for their labour.
5. *asvāddumkārayō*, who had brought pieces of waste land into cultivation on certain conditions. If such an *asvāddumizer* paid for the *asvādduma*, he could emancipate himself from the control of the *ninda* lord by having his *asvādduma* entered in the Land Rolls as a service-holding attached to any state department.<sup>149</sup>

The rights and obligations of lord and "tenant" were not immutable even in Kandyan times, and there was a continual struggle on the part of *nilakārayō* to claim *pravēni* title.<sup>150</sup> Such usurpation of hereditary title was hardly feasible in royal villages which had never been alienated from the crown, in which case none of the *nilakārayō* had any hereditary right to their holdings.<sup>151</sup> But aspiring *nilakārayō* who were already in residence when a royal village was granted to an individual, would frequently claim to hold their *paṃgu* on a superior tenure. For this reason, village lords of the *uḍa raṭa* were particularly wary of allowing the *nilakārayō* on their estates to hold land uninterruptedly, lest they should thereby acquire a plea of *pravēni* title.<sup>152</sup> It was in the interest of the *gamladda* to depress the free-holding *paṃgukārayō* to *nilakārayō* so as to exact menial services, while the *nilakārayō* were quick to seize any opportunity of arrogating to themselves the rights of *paṃgukārayō*.

As Sawers says, it sometimes happened that "tenants" who originally held land at the pleasure of a *nindagama* lord, from long possession, perhaps for centuries in the same family, acquired *pravēni* title which was generally acknowledged. On the other hand, a *paṃgukārayā* might be depressed to the status of a *nilakārayā* by another influential or unscrupulous "tenant," a case being

149. Sawers, *Digest* 23.

150. Berwick, "Judicial Report (in *Papers on Service Tenures* 1869)." In recent times, commutation of personal services further levelled status-differences, and "tenants" became equal in all respects save caste.

151. D'Oyly (1835), 88.

152. Sawers "Remarks on Turnour's *Memorandum*," (1824).



recorded in Vellassa a century ago. Of three families holding the headship of a village alternately for generations, one family became influential enough at a certain date to secure continuous headship, and secured *pravēni* rights to the exclusion of the other families, to whom all that remained as a reminder of their ancient rights were certain tokens of respect such as a mat or a cloth. Otherwise, they were to all intents and purposes, *nilakārayō* of the upstart "lord."<sup>153</sup>

## VIII

## THE OFFICE TENURES

THE NUMEROUS state officials owing personal service to the king, such as those of the palace staff who reported for duty at the various *murapaḷa*, all enjoyed land in consideration of their services.<sup>154</sup> The office holdings were not always entire villages, for many a *nindagama* had certain official holdings which were exempt from service to the village lord in consideration of state service, while in the *uda raṭa* several departments might have office-holdings in one and the same village, e.g. *gamvasam*, *hēvāvasam*, &c. These estates too had their *nilapamgu*, *otu* and *aṇḍa* lands, but since these *pamgu* were inconsiderable in numbers and in extent compared to those of the provincial *nindagam*, the grantees of these estates had to render greater dues and services to the crown than the *nindagam* lords, and they reserved a greater part of their office holdings to their own use than did the latter.

The *gamvasam* holdings provide a good example of these office tenures :

'*Gamvasam* are villages possessed by the *patabāṇḍi* people, whose duty it is to supply provisions free of payment to the following chiefs in passing through their village and during their stay in it, viz. the *disāva*, the *disāva mohottāla*, the *atapattu* and *kodituvakku nilamēs*, and the *kōraḷa*, with all their followers. Among the lands of the *gamvasam* there are no *mutteṭṭu* fields, the *patabāṇḍa* who is the proprietor, is obliged to cultivate his lands by means of the people of the village whom he feeds for their service, but (he) is entitled to *aṇḍa* and *otu* from all other lands in the village. He cannot be displaced from his *gamvasam* except by due course of law in favour of more legitimate claimants or for neglect of duty ; they may resign the *gamvasam* without retaining their own private lands. In that case they fly to some other part of the country, generally to Bintāna, as their maintenance is easier there than anywhere else.'<sup>155</sup>

The *gamvasamkārayō* were, in effect, those holders of service-lands who were not attached to any other state department. They were of the *goyigama* or *raṭē* caste, and were next in rank to the *atapattu* people but, unlike the latter, did not serve at the *disāva's*

<sup>154</sup>. Godamunne (1949), 5, claims that eighty or eighty-five percent of the Kandyan villages were *raṭa-kōraḷē-gam* (i.e., villages owing direct service to the crown, and having no "village lord." They were therefore distinct from the *gabaḍāgam*, *nindagam*, and temple villages, which were collectively known as *nila-gam*, in the sense that their inhabitants were not *nilakārayō* to a village lord). But there are no statistics for such an assertion.

<sup>155</sup>. Wright (1818).

<sup>153</sup>. STC Report (AR, 1871), p. 370.



house. Their principal duty was to furnish daily, by a system of rotation according to *kōraḷas* and *pattu*, dressed food (*aḍukku*) for the *disāva* and his retinue, and *pāhidum* or raw provisions for the *disāva*, so long as he was resident in his province on official service, e.g., conscripting for military service. They also furnished *aḍukku* to their *kōraḷas* whilst these officials travelled in their divisions on public service, such as collecting dues, assembling people, or superintending their labour. Besides, the *gamavasamkārayō* occasionally dragged timber for public works or for the *disāva* in Kandy or in his province. Their dues were *kada-rājakāriya* or pingo-duty, paid to the royal store (*mahagabādāva*); *valavva kada* of lesser amount to the *disāva*; and annually to the *disāva*, *pañduru mila*, being a duty of twenty *tutti* for each *kada* or pingo-load. There were *gamavasamkārayō* in *nindagam* too, but they did not pay these duties, their service being to provision the *ninda* lord or his representatives on circuit.<sup>156</sup>

## IX

## TEMPLE LANDS

THE MAHAVAMSA is replete with references to pious monarchs who bestowed land to temples and religious orders. Private endowments of land were known as *pidavil*.<sup>157</sup> Since the king lost dues from these private dedications, temple lands being free of tax and service to the state,<sup>158</sup> permission was necessary before the gift was made. According to Davy, it was usual to petition the king in the following terms: "I am desirous of making this present to the *vihāra* for my good, and I pray Your Majesty will permit me, as it is equally for your good."<sup>159</sup> Some holders of land would dedicate part of the *mul-pamguva* to a temple, yet continue to perform state service for the entire estate.<sup>160</sup> The donor or his heirs resumed title to the land if the temple ceased to function. Other temple lands became crown property if a temple was abandoned on the same principle that royal lands granted to individuals, subject to the performance of service, reverted to the crown when the services ceased.<sup>161</sup> But pious kings often rebuilt abandoned temples and rededicated their lands. Thus Kirti Sri rebuilt Dambulla temple and rededicated lands which had been formerly owned by Niśśanka Malla.<sup>162</sup> But the rededication of lands which had lapsed either to the king or to a private person was quite optional.<sup>163</sup>

There was, in almost every village, temple land, the property of which was vested in the Malvatta or Asgiriya Colleges, or in a local *vihāra* or *pansala*. The temples were anciently managed by lay

157. *TLC*, 1859.

158. Knox (1681), 77. "Tenants" of temple lands were exempt from ordinary *rājakāriya*, but were subject to services of public importance, e.g. the construction of tanks or roads, and when the king required them to serve in wartime. *Nilapamgu* held for service to Handessa *vihāra* were not liable to private services to the *ninda* lord, such double services being contrary to the custom of the country (BJC, 26-11-1835, Lawrie Mss. III).

159. Davy (1821).

160. BC, 30-10-1829 (in *TLC*, 1859).

161. Pitagedara Unnanse's Evidence, Malvatta Vihāra Land Case, 1857 (*TLC*) "A temple is abandoned when the performance of service (ceremonies) is given up. Even if a *pilima vahansa* remains the temple is abandoned if the daily ceremonies are discontinued. There were plenty of *bō-maluwas* and *pilima vahansas* in the jungle but the land is *rājasantaka*" (Pelpola Unnanse's evidence, *ibid*).

162. Dambuvel Nayaka Unnanse's evidence, 23-11-1857 (*ibid*).

163. Pelpola Unnanse's evidence, (*ibid*).

156. cf. D'Oyly (1835), 8, 9, 44, 66.



wardens who worked the lands by means of slaves and "tenants,"<sup>164</sup> since the monks themselves were prohibited by *vinaya* rules from performing these mundane duties. In Kandyan times, it was common for one or two resident monks to manage the temple lands.<sup>165</sup> In certain villages, the people themselves would dedicate a tract of land and build a temple. Thus Nāranviṭa Vihāra was built by the villagers in King Kuṇḍasāle's reign, and the land dedicated to the priesthood (*sanghika*). The appointment of the incumbent was the right of the villagers.<sup>166</sup> But certain larger temples had far-flung landed interests. "The *vihāra* at Mihintalē had a large property of its own which reached to the South as far as Minnēri and to the North as far as Padivil . . . free from taxation, and exercised a sort of sovereignty over the district in the same way as even at the present time the whole of the district of Buttala belongs to the Kataragam temple. The inhabitants were bound to do a certain amount of work for the temple as cooking, collecting flowers, painting, &c., and received in return a quantity of raw rice or a piece of cultivable land in the grounds of the temple."<sup>167</sup>

Temple villages were either *vihāragam* or *dēvālagam*, the former being attached to Buddhist temples, and the latter to shrines dedicated to deities such as Vishnu, Pattini, and Kataragam. *Vihāragam* were held on much the same conditions as *nindagam*. "The *mutteṭṭu* fields were cultivated by the ("tenants"), and the crop paid into the *vihāra* or, what is the same thing, for the maintenance of the priests: the dependents paid *otu*, performed various services, and attended to the repairs of the *vihāra* and other buildings of the establishment. The proprietors (the priests themselves) rendered no *rājakāriya* in money or service."<sup>168</sup>

In the case of *dēvālagam*, which were by far the most extensive of temple lands, the organization was peculiar and complicated, for the system by which services were exacted involved the institution of a number of petty headmen.<sup>169</sup> The chief lay official of a

164. Parānavitana, *EZ* IV, Pt. 3, p. 132. There are numerous references to slavery in monasteries in *EZ*: the Galapata Vihāra Inscription of the twelfth century (*EZ*, IV), gives a list of temple slaves.

165. Although ascetic (*tapas*) sects arise from time to time, the monks who retire to forest caves and wildernesses have always been in a minority. A Government Agent on circuit recorded in his diary (Gonagama, 28-10-1852): "Certainly the Buddhist priests and *dēvāle* dignitaries are as fond of the good things of this world as ever the 'monks of old' were—for as surely as I ask the name of some strikingly prosperous looking village, I am told it is a *vihāra* or *dēvāla-gama*" (CGA. 18/9). For an account of monastic dwellings &c, cf. Hardy (1850), chap. 13.

166. Lawrie (1898) under Naranvita.

167. Muller (1883), 17-18.

168. Turnour (1824).

169. The accounts of the *maha dēvāle* were kept by five *kapurālas*, three *mohottālas*, three *gebanarālas*, and three *vaṇṇaku nīlames*, and were examined by the *basnāyaka nīlame* (Complaint of the *Kapurāla* of *Maha Devale*, BJC 31-1-1818, CGA 23/4).

*dēvāla* was the *basnāyaka nīlamē* whose office was in the gift of the king or the *disāva* of the province on payment of a fee varying from 500 to 3000 *riḍi*.<sup>170</sup> The office was held for one year, and its emoluments consisted of the possession of certain official lands, fees accruing from the distribution of lay appointments in the *dēvāla*, which were at the *basnāyaka nīlamē*'s sole disposal, and from fines and forfeitures leviable by him by virtue of his unlimited jurisdiction over the inhabitants of *dēvāla* villages.<sup>171</sup>

The *dēvāle* "tenants" rendered dues and performed services to the establishment, supervised by the various officials. The *rāja-kāriya* rendered to the *maha dēvāle* by a certain tenant, consisted of a pingo of oil-cakes and thirty-two *salli* annually at the feast of *alut-sāl*.<sup>172</sup> The larger *dēvālas* had widespread landed interests, and a number of "tenants." Thus the services of the Vitaranagē family who held a *gamvasam paṅguva* as "tenants" of the Pasgama Nāta *dēvāle* were, to superintend the cultivation of one *amuṇam* of the *mutteṭṭu* from ploughing to storing; to superintend and assist in thatching the *dēvāle* buildings, in clearing the *maluva* and in decorating; to hold a *paliha* or the *mutukudē* for the *perahāra*; to get the other tenants to attend the festivals and perform their customary services; to supply *pūhidum* to the *basnāyaka-nīlamē* when he visited the village; and to take a basket of sweet-meats (*kevil peṭṭiya*) and a bundle of betel-leaves to the *basnāyaka nīlamē* at New Year, *alut-sāl*, and *perahāra*. In the same village, the Kapugē family performed the duties of *kapurāla* at the *dēvāle* for six months, and cultivated three *liyāddi* of the temple *mutteṭṭu* from ploughing to storing.<sup>172</sup>

170. These fees were much increased at the time of the British conquest.

171. Turnour (1824).

172. The *Report of the Kandyan Peasantry Commission* (1951), 108, recommended the abolition of service tenures "as a first step in the fight against caste." "Some of the services to be performed and the manner of their performance were stated to be degrading. By way of example, witnesses referred to the carrying of 'randoli' for the Kandy Perahāra. The 'randoli' weighed several hundredweight and had to be carried by four men right round the streets of Kandy. Each 'randoli' had to be followed by two women who had to keep in attendance throughout the route, night after night, during the *perahāra*. The men had to suffer the further discomfort of having their mouths covered by a cloth throughout the period they were engaged in this task. It was also mentioned that tenants were assigned certain functions and duties at the *dēvāles* and at the *māligava* and that they were disallowed even the privilege of carrying a dead body for burial even if one of their nearest relatives died, as this was supposed to contaminate them. It was also stated that certain services had to be performed in a particular garb. By way of illustration witnesses mentioned that persons who carried flags, banners and torches in the Kandy *perahāra* had to perform these services bare-bodied above the waist. If they attempted to put on any covering on their bodies, they were not allowed to perform the service and subsequently were sued for non performance of their assigned *rājakāriya*." On the other hand, the *basnāyaka nīlamēs* complained in evidence before the Land Tenure Commission (1954) that it was increasingly difficult to perform the temple ritual on account of the decay of service-tenures. The democratic ideology is manifested in the fact that *pandan-kārayā* or torch-bearer has come to mean "stooge."



The celebrated Temple of the Tooth (*daḷadā māligāva*) in Kandy, with its ancillary *dēvāles*,<sup>173</sup> exemplifies in high degree the complexity of temple administration. The temple had extensive lands attached to it, and a host of lay officials and ecclesiastics. The chief lay official, the *diyavaḍana-nīlamē*, "water-presenting officer," usually abbreviated to *diva-nīlamē*, appointed by the king, was also superintendent of the royal bath (*ulpāṅgē*).<sup>174</sup> The *diva nīlamē* was responsible for the repair and rebuilding of the temple and arranged expositions of the sacred Tooth of the Buddha. The minor offices of the temple were at his disposal, and he made appointments from certain families originally nominated by the king, heredity being reckoned in the male line. The temple officials, designated *ātulkattalē rāja-kārikarana-aya*, "performers of service at the inner shrine," were appointed annually, but could be reappointed.<sup>175</sup>

The ecclesiastics of the *māligāva* had to be supported, and certain employees remunerated, from the produce of temple villages. Thus the *ālatiāmmās*, two old women of the *goyigama* caste who officiated at the Wednesday service, got fifteen bushels of paddy each year.<sup>176</sup> The lay officials held certain temple lands as perquisites of office. There is on record a detailed account of the *māligāva* village at Kitulpe, which merits quotation *in extenso*:<sup>177</sup>

'Kitulpe is a temple village belonging to the *daḷadā māligāva* in Kandy, and pays no tax to government. As is the case with all temple villages, it is remarkably fine and fertile. The fields are really beautiful and excellently kept. The fields are in extent about 40 *amuṇams*, and the produce of about 8 is rendered to the temple.'

'The yearly tribute to the temple amounts to 32 *amuṇams* and 16 *lāhas*, which is converted into rice and offered monthly. Also a pingo of plantains and vegetables and oil are offered. In November the villages attend with 10 pingos and decorate the temple. The same offering is made at the Sinhalese New Year. Ten pingos also are presented in January when the crops are cultivated at the festival *alut-sāl-maṅgalla*. Soon after the Sinhalese New Year holidays are closed, 5 pingos are offered to the *diva-nīlamē*. One person of the village, in turns, must always watch at the *māligāva*. The villages are also liable to do any service when called on for the benefit of the temple. At the *perahāra* they must attend for 15 days to join in the procession. There is also a cocconut garden from which 20 cocoanuts a month are offered to the temple. The garden is nearly 3 *pālas* in extent.

There are four headmen belonging to the temple in this village, viz. the *vidāna*, *kankāṇam*, *manannā*, and *durayā*. The *vidānas* duties are to superintend everything and he is responsible for any neglect. The *kankāṇam* has charge of the keys of the paddy store containing the paddy belonging to the temple, and gives out the seed-paddy for the cultivation of the 8 *amuṇams*

173. i.e., Vishnu, Kataragam, Pattini, Nāta.

174. D'Oyly (1835).

175. Hocart (1931), chap. 3 for details of personnel. For an account of the temple also Goloubew (1933).

176. Hocart (1931), 14.

177. Agent's Diary, 26-10-1852 (CGA 18/9).

15 *lāhas* comprising the temple share; he also is present at the threshing of the crops, and takes care of the temple share; and he keeps account and sends them to the *diva-nīlamē*. The *manannā's* duty is to measure the paddy (from *maninavā*, to measure). The *durayā* takes messages connected with the temple. The *mutteṭṭu* fields are situated apart from the rest of the fields of the village, and they are cultivated by the natives according to the extent of their lands. The *vidāna* receives 3 *amuṇams* of paddy when the *mutteṭṭu* fields are reaped, the *kankāṇam* 5 *pālas*, the *manannā* and *durayā* 2 *pālas*. The *manannā* and *durayā* are of the *vahumpura* or jaggery [*hakuru*] caste.

'The headmen are annually appointed. The *bulatsurulla* required for a *vidāna* is 45 *ridi*, equal to £ 1-10-0—formerly it was 22 *ridi*. The *kankāṇam* is a hereditary office and no *bulatsurulla* is required. The *durayā* and *manannā* are appointed by the *vidāna*: the *durayā* gives 6 *ridi* as *bulatsurulla*, the *manannā* 2 *ridi*. They are appointed annually. The *vidāna* is appointed by the *diva-nīlamē*.'

'No *vihāra* connected with this (village) exists, though there is a *vihāra* unconnected with the *māligāva*.



## APPENDIX I

## THE PADDY CULTIVATION CYCLE\*

IN THE pursuit of agriculture (*govitān*), rational and empirical behaviour continually intermingled with cult and ritual. The husbandman (*goviyā*) made use of instruments and techniques derived from the accumulated knowledge and experience of his ancestors, but since the empirically observable connections of fact were always liable to interference by supernatural events, by drought, flood, and pestilence, the peasant also resorted to certain magical practices handed down to him from time immemorial. Bitter experience taught him that in spite of all forethought and rational calculation, his labour might be in vain if the forces of nature were adverse. It was to bend these supernatural forces to his will, to gain ritual control over nature and the spirits which dominated his universe, that he resorted to magic;<sup>1</sup> "and if a stranger should dislike their way, reprove or mock at them for their Ignorance and Folly, they would acknowledge the same, and laugh at the superstitions of their own Devotion, but withal tell you that they are constrained to do what they do, to keep themselves safe from the malice and mischiefs that the evil spirits would otherwise do them, with which, they say, their Country swarm."<sup>2</sup>

This coalition of science and magic is admirably illustrated in the paddy cultivation cycle in which rational activity was punctuated at every stage by intricate rites performed year after year in unvarying sequence. "The whole business of rice-growing is steeped in a deeply rooted conviction it is dependent for success on the divine mercy, and nothing impure should be spoken, or unlawfully done, in or near the fields, or by the persons directly concerned in the cultivation. Any such blasphemy renders it probable the crop may be blighted, or water may fail, to show the people the anger of the deity; and should such blight or drought arise, the villagers at once humble themselves and arrange a propitiatory or atoning ceremony to publicly show their contribution."<sup>3</sup> One such ceremony is the *garāyakā* dancing, another the religious game *aṃ-keliya* which consists of a tug-of-war between two teams, the winning party being entitled to abuse the losers with impunity.<sup>4</sup>

\* There is a rich literature on this subject. cf. *Pujāvaliya* (ch. 19); *Saddharmaratnāvalī*, 845; Knox (1681) 14-19; Davy (1821) 270-276; Turnour (CO 416/19, G11. 1832); R. E. Lewis (1848); Brodie (1856); Ievers (1880); Bell (1883), (1888), (1889); J. P. Lewis (1884); Le Mesurier (1885); Nevill (1886); Coomaraswamy (1905). These sources have been collated for this general account, certain local variants being mentioned in footnotes.

1. It is not always easy to distinguish religion and magic. I use the latter to designate discrete rites which are not part of a coordinated system of belief: in its pure form magic is considered effective *per se*, and there is only a vague conception, if at all, of the intervention of supernatural beings. Needless to say, the paddy rites represent a fusion of magic and religion.

2. Knox (1681), 132.

3. Nevill (1886).

4. Selkirk (1844), 398-399, 505-508; Griffiths Mss; Le Mesurier (1884.) for the *garā yakkuma* cf. Pertold (1930).

The paddy cultivation cycle begins<sup>5</sup> with the flooding of the fields, water being admitted through openings known as *vakkaduwa* and kept at a level of one or two inches above the surface of the soil for the space of a fortnight to eighteen days. It is necessary to repair the bunds which may have been damaged by cattle which had been allowed to graze on the overgrown fields after the previous harvest. This is done with the aid of *udālla* [fig. I (3)] before the soil becomes too macerated for bunding. "Now these Banks are greatly necessary, not only for Paths for the People to go upon through the fields, who otherwise must go in the Mud, it may be knee deep; but chiefly to keep in and contain their Water, which by the help of these Banks they overflow their Grounds with.... These Banks are usually not above a Foot over."<sup>6</sup>

After the ground has been well macerated, an auspicious time (*nākata*), calculated on the basis of the positions of the planets and asterisms, is chosen on the advice of an astrologer (*nākatrāla*), who has been consulted with the usual fee of forty betel leaves (*bulat atta*). The first ploughing (*binnāgima*) is begun at the auspicious moment recommended by the astrologer, and the ground broken into clods, the sod coverings of which are turned over. The type of plough commonly used by the Kandyan Sinhalese, the *koku-nagula* [fig. I (4)], "a crooked piece of Wood, it is but little bigger than a Man's Arm, one end whereof is to hold by, and the other to root up the Ground. In the hollow of this Plough is a piece of Wood, fastened some three or four Inches thick; and at the end of the Plough, is fixed an Iron Plate to keep the Wood from wearing. There is a Beam let in to that part of it the Ploughman holds in his hand, to which they make their Buffaloes fast to drag it."<sup>7</sup> The buffalo, which in its feral state is a most dangerous animal, has been so domesticated that a little boy can safely drive a herd, directing it with his voice and a simple goad [fig. I (6)]. The heavy trampling of these animals turns the soil even more effectively than the light plough they are made to draw.

Water is once more allowed to run into the field until the ground is sufficiently macerated. For the second ploughing (*de-hiya*, or *de-mādavuma*) which takes place some six weeks after the first, no plough is used, buffaloes being driven over the muddy ground, which is thereafter kept flooded "that the weeds and grass may rot." The water is then drawn off, and the points of ingress closed (*vatura bañḍinavā*). The field is smoothed by a board four feet long being drawn over the field on its edge by buffaloes, "and men in the glory of a Sinhalese—mud up to the middle—work it about with scrapers and *udālla* to produce an even consistency in the mud, and an even surface to receive the seed."<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile the seed has been germinated: the auspicious time for soaking having been ascertained, a bow is made to the corn before it is removed for soaking in a copper or earthen vessel for the space of 60 *pā*. The soaked seeds are then spread on the ground, *habarala* leaves being placed under and over them, and kept in place by weights. The astrologer is then consulted regarding the lucky hour for sowing, and at the appointed time the deities are appeased by placing some seed-paddy, saffron, a ginger plant, and a cocoanut

5. The present tense is used since the cycle remains unchanged in its essentials. If decline in belief has abridged the ritual, science has had little effect on rational activity.

6. Knox (1681), 15.

7. Knox, loc. cit.

8. R. E. Lewis (1848).



flower<sup>9</sup> on a mud-ball left on the bank. The germinated seeds are then carefully separated (*yāṅkaranavā*), sprinkled with water, and sown in about ten days.

When the seed has taken root, and before the mud has dried, the openings through which the water was drawn off are closed, and the field inundated again. If watered sooner, the seeds are liable to destruction by crabs which infest the dams. Creepers of poisonous plants are sometimes put into the water to kill insects. Charmed ashes and sand are also thrown into the field to destroy these pests. "This ceremony is performed by a *kaṭṭadivāḷa* at dusk. Taking the sand to the field and removing his waistcloth (which he wraps round his head), he proceeds to scatter sand about the boundaries of the field: then without a word to anyone, or allowing so much as a quid of betel to pass his lips, he retires for the night to a deserted house; otherwise the charm will have no effect. It is considered advisable to protect the paddy plant by the performance of a separate *kema*, or charm, as it attains each of its nine nodes (*gāta*, *puruka*), or rises each internode (*petta*).<sup>10</sup> When there is every prospect of a very good crop, a *garā-yakum* ceremony is resorted to in the hope of warding off the baneful influence of evil eye (*ās-vaha*) and evil tongue (*kaṭa-vaha*)."<sup>11</sup> There is little work to be done until the crop ripens except the women's work of weeding, thinning, and transplanting, which is done to the accompaniment of singing. In some areas a continual vigil has to be kept to protect the crop from depredation by wild animals and domestic cattle.

The length of time required for the maturation of the crop depends on the variety of paddy that has been sown. Lewis lists eleven types of paddy: *bāla mā-vi*, sown in November, takes some six months to mature; the varieties *ratkunda*, *maralavarige*, *kalu kōmbili* and *taṭṭuval* require four months, and were generally sown in March: *hināṭi*, *sudu hināṭi*, *modu kiriāl*, and *kuru-vi*, sown in the low-country, in June, was of very rapid growth, and ripened in two months.<sup>12</sup> Knox discusses the factors which determine the choice of a particular type of seed:

9. These articles vary in different districts: in Mātara an areca flower and a bamboo branch or ginger plant are used (Le Mesurier).

10. Thus, "the following well-known *gāthāva* is recited 108 times over some sand, which is strewn in the field at dusk, while four lamps (the oil used having been prepared without being tasted) are kept burning at its four corners:—

Abstain from sin

Acquire merit;

Purify the heart;

This is Buddha's commandment." (Bell. 1883).

11. Ibid. On the *garā-yakum* rites vide. Pertold (1931) and Wirtz (1954).

12. R. E. Lewis (1848). There is no agreement among the authorities regarding the different types of paddy. *Hināṭi* and *mā-vi* are mentioned in the thirteenth century *Pūjāvaliya* as taking 3-4, and 6-7 months, respectively, to ripen. Knox (1681) 12 gives *mā-vi* (7 months), *hātīli* (6 months), *honora-vālu* (5 months), *hināṭi* (4 months), and *hālpan-kalu* (3 months). According to Joinville (North Mss). "there are four kinds of rice, of which three grow in the mountains, and do not require permanent inundation." Moon (1824) lists 160 varieties of paddy, including hill-paddy, but many of them may be subtypes of a *genus*. cf. also Brodie (1856). Clearly, there were no standard types and the varieties in actual use differed in different districts and at times.

"That which is soonest ripe, is most savoury to the taste; but yeildeth the least increase. It may be asked then, why any other sort of Rice is sown, but that which is longest and Ripening, seeing it brings in most profit? Now the Rice they sow is according as they foresee their stock of Water will last. It will sometimes last them to or three, or four or five months, more or less; the Rice therefore they chuse to cast into the Ground, is of that sort that may answer the duration of the Water. For all their Crop would be spoilt if the Water should fail them before their Corn grew ripe. If they foresee their Water will hold out long, then they sow the best and most profitable Rice, viz. that which is longest a ripening; but if it will not, they must be content to sow of the worse sorts; that is, those that are sooner ripe. Again they are forced sometimes to sow this younger Rice, for the preventing the damage it might otherwise meet with, if it should stand longer. For their Fields are all in common, which after they have sown, they enclose till Harvest; But as soon as the Corn first sown becomes ripe, when the Owner has reaped it, it is lawful for him to break down his Fences, and let in his Cattle for grazing; which would prove a great mischief to that Corn that required to stand a Month or two longer. Therefore if they are constrained to sow later than the rest, either through want or sloth, or some other Impediment, yet they make use of that kind of Rice that will become ripe, equal with that first sown. Thus they time their Corn to their Harvest; some sowing sooner, some later, but all reaping together, unless they be Fields that are enclosed themselves; and peculiar to one Man."<sup>13</sup>

When the paddy is ripe, the peasants purify themselves by bathing and wearing clean white cloths, and eat a ritual meal of milk-rice (*kiri-bat*). Thus fortified, they perform certain rites preliminary to reaping. One man enters the field at the prescribed *nākata*, bows nine times to the ears of corn, cuts a handful.<sup>14</sup> He then selects three ears, wraps them in three *bō* or *kaduru* leaves and carries them on his head to the *kamata* or threshing-floor—a circular piece of ground, some twenty or twenty-five feet in diameter, from which the upper turf has been cleared with the aid of *udālla* [fig. I (3.)] A pit about three feet deep is dug in the centre of the cleared surface. At the auspicious moment suggested by the astrologer certain objects are deposited in the cavity<sup>15</sup> which is then covered, and a round stone (*arak gala*) or king cocoanut (*ran tāmbili*) placed over the spot.

Reaping now begins in earnest. "When they Till their Grounds, or Reap their Corn, they do it by whole Towns (i.e. villages) generally, all helping each other for *attam*, as they call it; that is, that they may help as much, or as many days again in their Fields, which accordingly they will do. For all fall in together in reaping one man's Field, and so to the next, until every man's Corn be down. Another Custome is, that every man, during the reaping of his Corn, finds all the rest with Victuals. The women's work is to gather up the Corn after the Reapers, and carry it all together."<sup>15</sup> Men and women work together, beguiling their labour with songs:

13. Knox (1681), 12-13.

14. In the low-country three handful of grain are cut and set apart for *kataragam deviyō*, on a tree or post near the field, and are used at the close of the harvest in the almsgiving (*deviyannē dānaya*) (Bell. 1883).

15. According to Bell (1883) packets of wrapped grain are buried, among other things. Knox (1681) 17 mentions "divers strange shells, pieces of Iron, and some sorts of Wood and a bunch of betel Nuts," and Nevill (1886) "a *margosa* plank and a clawed chank or pteroceras."



We have worshipped the sun-god; grant us leave O! deities, to  
 enter the field  
 The gods have all given consent: give us sickles, O lord of the  
 peasant  
 Grant that we be shielded from the sun's rays, that the air be cool  
 May the gods grant our wishes and deliver us from adversity  
 throughout the day  
 The sun sinks beneath the mountain; the son-god has shaded  
 our team  
 Clasp the wealth-bringing sickles in our right hands, we  
 invoke blessings on the mother  
 If the peasant-deity of the mountain hears me I shall get my  
 reward  
 May high and low in this team, sing together without bickering.<sup>16</sup>

The sheafs are stacked in ricks in and around the threshing floor, and are usually encircled with young cocoanut leaves or jungle creepers in preparation for threshing. The process of threshing (*govikama*) itself is accompanied by a host of rituals, practically comprising an independent cult, but they vary so much in different districts that it would be tedious to repeat the variants in minute detail, and a few general observations will suffice.

At the auspicious time for threshing, which always occurs in the evening, the paddy is tied into small bundles, which the women carry on their heads to the *kamata*, walking thrice round the covered pit before relieving themselves of their burden. Their reward for this service, and for that of weeding, is known as *varupalla*, "that is as much Corn, as shall cover the Stone and other Conjurament-Instruments at the bottom of the Pit."<sup>17</sup> The bundles are either arranged in a semi-circular design "like a rainbow or half-moon" (*vana-kaṇḍa-ekatu-karanavā*), or heaped in the centre (*koṭaṭa ekatukaranavā*), a magical diagram having previously been drawn on the threshing-floor with ash, consisting of three concentric circles<sup>18</sup> and various symbols, including the articles buried, and a figure called "the sacred feet of the Buddha."<sup>19</sup>

The paddy is then tossed and mixed with the hands (*koṭa-vaḍanavā*). No flail is used but if the quantity is large one or two "teams" of buffaloes are yoked together to thresh the paddy and are driven round and round the circular threshing floor, trampling the sheaves from dusk to morn.<sup>20</sup> "The boys who are employed to drive the buffaloes over the paddy are first fed. Should the animals void their dung whilst being driven, the boys are taught to take a little straw and hold it on both the upturned palms of the hands to the stems of the buffaloes—to prevent the dung falling on the straw and fouling the paddy), and to throw it over the other side of the *variga-kaṇḍa*."<sup>21</sup> Two or three *pā* after first driving the buffaloes, the paddy that has moved to the edge of the threshing-floor is tossed with a fork (*dāti goyiyā*) on to the centre heap (*vaṭa kaḍanavā*) and the buffaloes driven over it again. The peasant at this stage performs certain rites which Nevill recounts:

16. cf. the texts in Bell (1883).

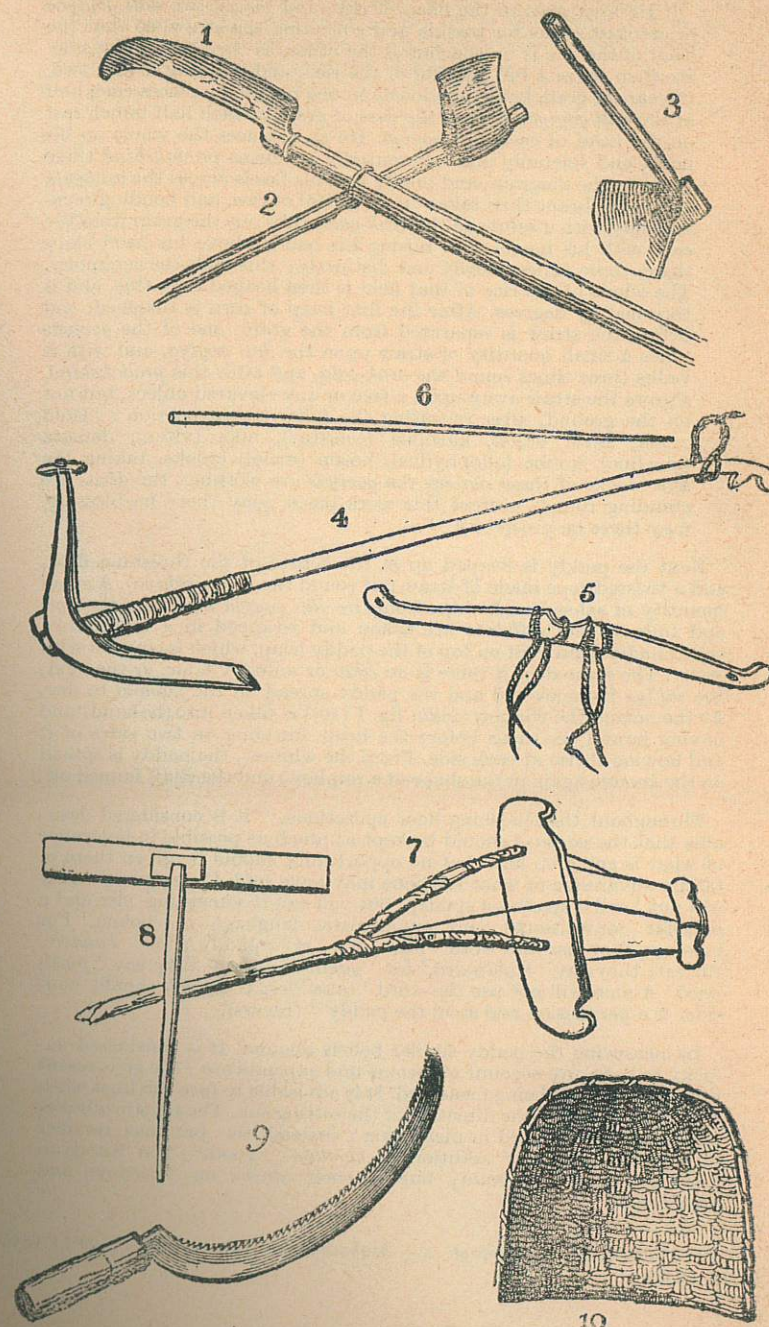
17. Knox (1881).

18. Ievers (1880) gives a diagram with seven circles.

19. Precise directions for the preparation of the threshing-floor are given in the Sinhalese verses *Muhurttā Chintāmaṇi* stanzas 257-261, (cf. text in Bell. 1883).

20. Hartshorne (1872), 72.

21. Bell (1889).





"He next goes to the heap of rice, and places two *dāti goyiyās* or crooked sticks for tossing and collecting the straw, so that the head of the one is by the end of the other, as they lie side by side. He then takes a full handful of the rice, and dividing it into two, the ears of grain being previously in one bunch, he places each half of the *dāti goyiyās* so that the ears of grain of each half bunch rest on the head of each *dāti goyiyā*. He then places the whole on his head, and solemnly and reverentially performs *pradakshinā* three times to the diagram, and finally lays his fascis across the *arakgala*. The celebrant then takes up a handful of rice, and bending reverentially with a salute to the *arak-gala*, rubs out the grain from the ears with his hands, and raising his hands above his head claps them three times, slowly and distinctly; this ends the ceremony. The whole of the rice of that field is then heaped over this, and is threshed by degrees. After the first heap of corn is threshed, and before the straw is separated from the grain, one of the *goyiyās* takes a small quantity of straw upon the *dāti goyiyā*, and with it walks three times round the *arak-gala*, and after this *pradakshinā*, throws the straw away upon a tree or any elevated object, but not on the ground, after repeating the following invocation: 'Gold crook, silver crook, katupila (celastus), nika (vitex), demata (gineline), kobbe (allophyllus), koson (melia) crooks, taking the five crooks of these names, the *goyiyās* are working, the *dēvas* are standing round, protect this work-place, may there be blessing, may there be prosperity.'"

Next the paddy is heaped up in the centre of the threshing floor, and a twisted rope made of straw put round the heap (*rāhiya*). A small quantity of ashes, small chips from the *dāti goyiyā* and from the hair and tails of the buffaloes are taken and wrapped in a little straw called *undhiya* and kept on top of the paddy heap, which is covered with straw. The same day, if there is no *rikta* or unlucky hour, or the next, the *rāhiya* is uncovered and the paddy spread on the *kamata* to dry. At the *nākata* the winnow [*kulla* fig. I (10)] is taken into the hand, and having bowed six times before the heap, kneeling on two sides of it and bowing thrice at each side. From the winnow, the paddy is spread on the *kamata* again in the shape of a rainbow, and the chaff fanned off.

Throughout the threshing-floor operations, "it is considered desirable that the *yakṣayō* should be kept as much as possible in ignorance of what is going on and that no opportunity should be given them of taking advantage of what someone may have said. Consequently they will not 'call a spade—a spade,' but will call it something else and a peculiar conventional and euphemistic language is spoken. For instance they use the word '*bāta*' for '*vī*'=paddy; for '*kanavā*' (to eat) they say '*bañḍinavā*,' for '*yanavā*' (to go) they say '*puranavā*.' A man will not use the word 'take' lest the *yakā* should consider it a permission and steal the paddy" (Ievers).

In measuring the paddy similar beliefs abound. It is considered unlucky to keep any account of income and expenditure: the gods resent their benevolence being measured. It is advisable to face the East when measuring paddy—the direction of the setting sun. The mystic number nine is always omitted in measuring: instead the previous number is repeated with the addition of *hoṇḍayi*, "good." The Kandyan Sinhalese never took paddy out of their *aṭuvas* on Tuesdays and Sundays.<sup>22</sup>

22. Yattewatte Mahatmaya vs. Mohottigedere Korāle, BJC, 10-11-1817 (CGA 23/3).

The owner distributed certain portions of the crop among those who helped him directly and indirectly, according to custom, e.g. the *varupalla* paid to the women labourers. It is interesting to note that the drummer-astrologer, washerman, and smith—representatives of the key low castes—get their due share.



## APPENDIX II

### IEVERS ON HĒN CULTIVATION\*

WHEN the land is felled, burned and fenced roughly it is cleared of leaves and small roots &c., and the seed is then thrown on and scraped in with the *udālla*. The seed has to be sown much more thickly than on mud land as there are so many enemies—birds, ants, and insects generally. The general yield on fairly fertile lands is forty fold. It has been ascertained by actual survey of an acre and sowing it with *āl-vī* that an acre is five *lāhas* sowing-extent (the *lāha* used being the largest size of five seers). This would give eight acres of one *amūṇam* of high land. The *āl* seed is mixed with different kinds of other seeds : mustard (*aba*), *bada iriṅgu* (Indian corn), *tampalā*, *mum*, &c., and all are sown together. In different places near the fences generally they put in separately the kinds of pumpkin grown (*puhul*, *vaṭṭakkā*, *kākiri*, *tiyaṁbarā*. *Menēri* is generally mixed with the *āl* as white ants will not touch it and it is supposed to protect other seeds as well. The straw is worthless being very 'soft': it is burnt when the crop has been removed. *Āl-vī* can only be grown in good-sized jungle of about 9—10 years growth, as it requires a good soil and there is no fertilizing power in recently chenaed lands. Lantana is said to be useful in recovering the soil and if the land is naturally deep soil it can be sown in 5 or 6 years if covered well with lantana. Scrub and low jungle will only grow *amu*, *kurakkan*, and *menēri*. Hence the desire to get hold of, and clear, good crown land as the crop is so superior on well grown jungle.

The clearing takes place before the heavy rains of May (in Vesak month) and if not then completed is carried on in some cases to middle of September.

\* CGA 30/6 (1884). For the rites associated with the cultivation of hill paddy, vide Bell (1888).

## APPENDIX III

### ON SINHALESE MEASURES\*

DESPITE the complex tables derived from Sanskrit and other sources, in actual practice the people had but vague criteria of measurement. A remarkable feature of the measures in everyday use is the fact that they retained their "natural" basis, and had not been standardized in abstract terms to constitute a "rational" system of measurement with criteria such as, for instance, a "furlong," which has completely lost its connotation of a "furrow-long" and is merely an abstract and standard measure of distance. In the numerals, however, such an abstract scheme had long been evolved, and the numbers had no relation to specific things—unlike, for example, the Malay and Aztec number-language which literally means "one stone, two stones, three stones," and so on. The Sinhalese had an abstract number-language, as well as a system of symbols (*lit lakunu*, fig.II). There was no symbol for zero, but the numbers after ten were compound by a combination of number-words on a decimal basis. Thus five=*paha*, sixty=*hāṭa*, sixty-five=*hāṭa-paha*. (There was, besides, an independent symbol for "sixty.")

### LINEAL MEASURES

Q : "Are you a neighbour of Plaintiff?"

A : "No, I live at a distance"

Q : "What distance?"

A : "Within the distance of a loud cry."<sup>1</sup>

Such vague conceptions of distance made it impossible to say precisely what a specific lineal-unit signified. The "hoo," an onomatopoeic expression for a loud cry, was a measure in common use; it was, moreover, the "natural" basis of larger units, although much depends on whose "hoo" it was. Two "hoos" were supposed to equal a *hātākma*, roughly equivalent to a mile, or the distance which a man carrying a pingo-load could travel without putting down his burden for a "breather" (*hati arinda*).<sup>2</sup> Four *hātākmas* made a *gavva* and 5 *gav* a day's journey. 4 *gav* equalled a *yōduna*, estimated to be about 16

\* Sources: *Yogārṇavaṇṇana*; Knox (1681); Davy (1821); Hartshorne (1872); Rhys Davids (1877); Mendis Gunasekera (1891); Modder (1892); Crawford (1888-9); White (1888-9); Samaranayaka (1916); Ellapola (1936); Perera (1949) III.

1. Cross-examination of witness in *Aluvihare Mulachariya vs. Devundere Mulachariya*, BJC., 8-9-1817, (CGA 23/3).















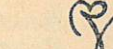




2. The *pilluma* is used in some districts in the same sense as the *hātākma*. "*Pillumak dura* is derived from *pili*, "cloth" and *inuma*, "let loose." There is a custom among the Sinhalese pingo-bearers to tuck up the cloth which they wear ...up to the waist; when it gets loose and falls down to its original form, the man is obliged to resume his tucking up from the beginning over again. That distance which he is supposed to have walked by that time is equal to a *hātākma*" (White 1888-9). But this is open to question.



Fig. II

If it goes on to a third series the word *tri* (third) appears. In certain secular books a special form of figures is used in place of letters of the alphabet. These figures are known as *Lit Lakunu* or signs used in astrological tables.

The following is a list of the figures:—

				
1	2	3	4	5
				
6	7	8	9	10
				
20	30	40	50	60
				
70	80	90	100	

In place of the above signs certain letters of the Sinhalese Alphabet are frequently used ;

ක	ඛ	ක	ඛ	ක	ඛ	ක	ඛ	ක	ඛ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

miles.<sup>3</sup> In practice, "a *gav* means almost any distance over half-a-mile and short of ten miles ...the *hātākma*, which is about a mile, is equally expansive and vague."<sup>4</sup>

Rather more precise was the *baṁba* or fathom, which had an anatomical basis: it was equal to the distance between a man's extended arms, measured from the tips of the finger, and was roughly six feet. The *baṇḍāra baṁba*, employed by the latter kings for measuring roads, was equal to the height a man could reach above his head with his hand, and was approximately nine feet. 500 *baṇḍāra baṁba* = 1 *hātākma*.

"A *riyana* is a Cubit, which is with them from the bone on the inside of the Elbow to the tip of the fourth Finger. A *vaḍu-riyana* is the Carpenters Rule. It is as much as will reach from one Elbow to the other, the Thumbs touching one another at the tops, and so stretching out both Elbows."<sup>5</sup> The carpenter's *aṅgula* was the distance between the second and third joints of the forefinger, the *vaḍu-riyana* being computed as 24 *aṅgulas*.<sup>6</sup> It will be noticed that empirically, this proportion between the *aṅgula* and *vaḍu-riyana* is justified.

#### CAPACITY : WEIGHT

"The following table showing the method for defining capacity is illustrative of the complex and unscientific formulae employed for this purpose":—

3 tala āṭa	=1 amu āṭa
3 amu āṭa	=1 vi āṭa
8 vi āṭa	=1 madaṭiya
20 madaṭiya	=1 kalaṇḍa
3 kalan	=1 huna
2 huna	=½ a palam
2 half-palams	=1 palam
2 palam	=1 kulundal
2 kulundal	=1 pata or huṇḍuva
2 pata	=1 manavē
2 manāva	=1 nāliya or sēru or kuruniya
2½, 3, 3½ or 4 nali	=1 lāha or kuruniya
4 lāha	=1 timba
10 lāha	=1 pāla
4 pāla	=1 amuna.

"One *amuna* is equivalent to five bushels, if thirty-two *sēru* be reckoned to the bushel, but if each *sēru*, or measure as it is sometimes called, be 'pressed down and running over,' only twenty-eight to the bushel."<sup>7</sup>

3. "A *yōjana* is estimated by the Indian historians to be about 18 miles, by the ancient Indian Government about 9½ miles, by the writers of Indian sacred books or *śāstrams* 5 miles, and by the Sinhalese 16 miles" (Modder 1892). But Rhys Davids (1877) estimated it at 8 miles.

4. Hartshorne (1872).

5. Knox (1681), 155.

6. Some such proportionate measures are in use among physical anthropologists.

7. Hartshorne (1872). For a variant table of antiquity cf. *yoga-varanaya*.



Although the smallest unit of capacity, according to the above table is the minute sesame seed (*tala āṭa*), nine of which make a grain of paddy (*vī-āṭa*), while eight paddy grains make a *madaṭi-seed*, in actual practice the smallest measure of capacity was the *pata*. Knox's account of the rough-and-ready everyday measures is certainly more satisfactory than the imprecise table according to which the amount of a *lāha* or *kuruniya* varies.<sup>8</sup> "For their Corn-measures, the least is a *pata*, which is to contain as much Grain as a man can hold heaped up in his whole hand palm and fingers and all. Four *patas* make a lawful or Statute-measure, called *baṇḍāra nāḷiya*, signifying the King's measure. Which is the King's ordinary allowance to a man, that is as much as he can eat in a day... Four of these *baṇḍāra nāḷiyas* make a *kuruniya*... Ten of these *kuruni* make a *pāḷa*... Four of these *pāḷa* make an *amuṇa*, in which they keep the account of their Corn, reckoning by *amuṇams*."<sup>9</sup>

In Knox's time the *baṇḍāra nāḷiya* was a handsomely turned wicker-work measure. Since money was scarce, and grain frequently used as a medium of exchange, "every man mets by his own measure. Which therefore he makes as large as he can or dares, that so when he received his Debt of Corn, he may get as much as he can. Which upon this account would be a great injury to the poorer sort of People, who commonly are the Debtors. Therefore the Adikars Officers will go about the Towns to examine the measures by a Statute-Measure; and where they find great ones they cut them in pieces, and hang them up in the streets to terrifie others, and sometimes will amerce a Fine upon them that have them."<sup>10</sup>

The liquid measures were of bamboo. The terms used for dry measures were employed with the prefix "diya," i.e., *diya-pata*, *diya-huṇḍuva*, *diya-nāḷiya*, *diya-lāha*.<sup>11</sup>

Measures of capacity and of weight were not rigidly differentiated, and it would appear that the above table of capacity served as well for weight. Goldsmiths and silversmiths calculated on the basis of the *madaṭiya*, a seed whose coat has the appearance of red enamel paint, and has an average weight of 3.6 grams. The smith's brass weight (*kalanda*) was equivalent to 24 *madaṭi* seeds. 20 *kalandas* = 1 *palam*.

#### SURFACE

Q: "You speak of it [the field] sometimes as a *pāḷa* and sometimes as sixteen *lahas*. What do you mean?"

A: "I never cultivated the portion in question, but I have heard some people who cultivate it call it a *pāḷa*, and some sixteen *lahas*."<sup>12</sup>

Strictly speaking, the Sinhalese had no surface measures; they merely applied those of capacity to land, forming their estimate by the extent of land sown by a given quantity of seed. Thus the sowing-extent for an *amuṇam* of seed was an *amuṇam* of land. This was not so arbitrary as might appear, for the skilled cultivator spread his seed evenly over the surface of his fields, and could quite accurately estimate sowing-extent at a glance. The seed in terms of which the sowing-extent is computed, is usually stated (if it is not, it is assumed that

8. 4 *nāḷi* = 1 *punci lāha*; 1½ *punci lāha* = 1 *loku lāha* (*kuruniya*).

9. Knox. loc. cit.

10. Knox (1681), 155-156.

11. Hartshorne (1872).

12. In Aluvihare Mulachariya's Case (cf. ante).

it is paddy-land): thus *gederakumbura* of 1 *amuṇam* paddy sowing-extent, or *uḍavatta* of 16 *lahas kurakkan* sowing-extent. What made for arbitrariness was the fact that in certain areas, owing to the poverty of the soil and other causes, a larger quantity of seed was used than in the more fertile districts.<sup>13</sup>

The smallest unit of surface was the "fistful" (*miṭa*, *ahura*), as much as could be held in the clenched fist. "A man of straw" was appropriately described as one who was not possessed even of a *miṭa* of land, i.e., an extent which could be sown by a mere handful of seed. On the basis of a "fistful" the following table may be constructed:<sup>14</sup>

4 <i>miṭas</i>	= 1 <i>atalossa</i> , i.e., a handful with the fingers slightly bent inwards.
8 <i>miṭas</i>	= 1 <i>pata</i> , a handful with the fingers stretched out.
2 <i>patas</i>	= 1 <i>manāva</i> , or <i>dhotā</i> , or two handfuls.
2 <i>manavas</i>	= 1 <i>nāḷiya</i> , ( <i>sēruva</i> ).
4 <i>nāḷi</i>	= 1 <i>kuruniya</i> or <i>lāha</i> .
4 <i>lāhas</i>	= 1 <i>tiṃba</i> .
5 <i>kuruni</i>	= 1 <i>bera</i> .
2 <i>beras</i>	= 1 <i>pāḷa</i> .
4 <i>pāḷas</i>	= 1 <i>amuṇa</i> .
6 <i>pāḷas</i>	= 1 <i>yel-amuṇa</i> .
12 <i>amuṇas</i>	= 1 <i>yala</i> .

#### TIME

"They have no Clocks, Hour-glasses, or Sun-Dials, but keep their time by guess. The King indeed hath a kind of Instrument to measure time. It is a Copper Dish holding about a Pint, with a very small hole in the bottom. This Dish they set a swimming in an Earthen Pot of water, the water leaking in at the bottom till the Dish be full, it sinks. And then they take it out, and set it empty on the water again, and that makes one *pā*. Few or none use this but the King, who keeps a man on purpose to watch it continually. The People will use it upon some occasions, as if they are to sow their Corn at any particular hour, as being the good lucky Season, then they make use of the Copper Pan, to know the time exactly."<sup>15</sup>

Usually, however, the people depended on "natural" measures of time, for instance, by measuring the *piyara* or foot of a man's shadow. Thus *hiti piyara vēlāva* is the hour when a man's shadow is under his foot, i.e. mid-day. The various expressions to indicate different times of the day in common use were based on "natural" phenomena, e.g. *elivenavā*, signifying the appearance of light at dawn; *atē iri pēnnē vēlāva*, the time at which the lines of one's palm are visible; *harak dakkana vēlāva*, the time when cattle are driven to plough, denoting the early hours; *mī kelina vēlāva*, when bees gambol, in the afternoon; *mal pipena vēlāva*, the time when the *sendivikka* flower, commonly known as the "four o'clock flower," blooms; *iri-bahina vēlāva*, the time of sun-set; and *minihā pēnne nepēnne vēlāva*, when a man can hardly be recognised, dusk.

13. cf. Report of the Government Agent, North Western Province, Appendix D (AR. 1874 Pt. I. 132-3).

14. Modder (1892). The "bushel" is omitted, as it is modern.

15. Knox (1681), 178.



The day (*davasa*) is divided into 60 *pā*, 30 of light and, 30 of darkness (1 *pā* = 24 minutes). The time is computed in terms of sun-set, sun-rise so that the fifteenth *pā* is mid-day. There are 7 days in the week (*Satiya*)—*Iridā* (sunday), *sandudā*, *aṅgaharuvādā*, *badāda*, *brahas-patindā*, *sikurādā*, *senasurādā*.

There are 365 days in the year (*avurudda*), the time occupied by the sun's circuit through the fixed stars (the twelve signs of the Zodiac). The year is sub-divided into 12 solar months (*sūrya māsa*), according as the sun enters the respective signs :

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| 1. Mesha ravi    | (sun in Aries, April-May).              |
| 2. Vraṣabha ravi | (sun in Taurus, May-June).              |
| 3. Mituna ravi   | (sun in Gemini, June-July).             |
| 4. Kataka ravi   | (sun in Cancer, July-August).           |
| 5. Sinha ravi    | (sun in Leo, August-September).         |
| 6. Kanya ravi    | (sun in Virgo, September-October).      |
| 7. Tula ravi     | (sun in Libra, October-November).       |
| 8. Vraçcika ravi | (sun in Scorpio, November-December).    |
| 9. Dhunu ravi    | (sun in Saggitarius, December-January). |
| 10. Makara ravi  | (sun in Capricornus, January-February). |
| 11. Kumbha ravi  | (sun in Aquarius, February-March).      |
| 12. Mina ravi    | (sun in Pisces, March-April).           |

Besides there are the lunar months, reckoned from one new moon to the next, or from one full moon to the following full moon. A lunar month consists of nearly 29.5 days. Hence about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  lunar months make up 12 months of the year. The lunar months are used in all deeds and legal instruments, and are as follows :

1. Bak.
2. Vesak.
3. Poson.
4. Āsaḷa.
5. Nikini.
6. Binara.
7. Vap.
8. Il.
9. Unduvap.
10. Durutu.
11. Navam.
12. Mādin.

“ They begin their year upon our Eight and twentieth day of March, and sometimes the Seven and twentieth, and sometimes, but very seldom, on the Nine and twentieth. The reason of which I conceive to be, to keep it equal to the Course of the Sun, as our leap year doth.”<sup>16</sup>

The Sinhalese reckoned the years in terms of various eras. The Śaka era was made use of in all legal instruments, royal grants, horoscopes, and other secular documents. It is said to date from a king Śaka, and is the same as that of King Salivahana of India, whose era is fixed at the seventy-ninth year of the Christian Era. Thus, the Śaka year is converted to the corresponding year in the Christian Era by the addition of 78½ years. The era of the death of Buddha, 543 B.C. is generally used in Pali and Sinhalese historical works.

The expression *kalpa*, frequently used in the chronicles in connection with the origin of the world, designates a very long period of time (432 million years).

16. Knox (1681) 177, for further details cf. Samaranayaka (1916). The Sinhalese New Year 1955 was in mid-April.

### PART THREE

## REVENUE AND SERVICE



## RĀJAKĀRIYA AND FUNCTIONAL DEVOLUTION

"RĀJAKĀRIYA, which may be properly interpreted King's Duty, implies either the Personal Service, or the Dues in Money or kind, to which any Person or Land is liable."<sup>1</sup> The institution was buttressed by a strong, if not always articulate, ideological sanction. According to the proverb, "King's Duty is greater than the service of the gods."<sup>2</sup> *Rājakāriya* seems to have included at least three kinds of duty :

1. Duty to the king in the form of *kat-hāl-rājakāriya* or grain-tax reckoned in pingo-loads.
2. Exceptional personal service in wartime and national emergencies.
3. Duty to the king and/or his representative in consideration of land holdings by way of personal service and/or dues in money or in kind.<sup>3</sup>

The personal services to which holders of land were liable was by far the most important aspect of *rājakāriya*, for on this system of service tenures the machinery of state administration largely hinged. Most of the land in the kingdom was held on this basis :<sup>4</sup>

"The Countrey being wholly His, the King farms out his Land, not for Money, but Service. And the People enjoy Portions of Land from the King, and instead of Rent, they have their several appointments, some are to serve the King in his Wars, some in their Trades, some serve him for Labourers and others are as Farmers to furnish his House with the Fruits of the Ground; and so all things are done without Cost and every man paid for his pains : that is, they have Lands for it... But if they find the Duty to be heavy, or too much for them, they may leaving their House and Land, be free from the King's Service, as there is a multitude do."<sup>5</sup>

Service lands held as payment for service, or for maintenance, were in existence in the tenth century as *divel*.<sup>6</sup> In Kandyan times

1. D'Oyly (1835), 45.

2. රාජකාරිය ලොකුයි දෙයියන්කාරියට. (cf. de Zoysa, 1871).

3. Thus certain persons were obliged to deliver *vāhal-kada-rājakāriya* to the royal store, and *valava-kada-rājakāriya* to the *disāva's* residence.

4. cf. D'Oyly (1835), 44. Temple lands were exempt.

5. Knox (1681), 69.

6. cf. *EZ*, I. A25.



the expression *baḍavaḍilli*<sup>7</sup> was applied to service portions held either temporarily (*sārāmāru*), or hereditarily (*pravēni*, the *pamuṇu-gam* of antiquity).<sup>8</sup> These personal services were either substantial (e.g., lands held by a washerman in Rajādhi Rāja Simha's reign for making caps for soldiers of the newly formed *alutpēruva* of the *maḍuve* department),<sup>9</sup> for nominal, such as the annual payment of forty betel-leaves by a widow of a soldier killed on active service, in consideration of land held for her maintenance.<sup>10</sup> These service-lands became *purappādu* and reverted to the crown on the death or execution<sup>11</sup> of the holder, or on failure of service.<sup>12</sup> Thus when a woman who served in the Queen's Bath (*palle vāhala ulpāngē*) represented to the king that she held no land, His Majesty ordered a *sattambi* to look out for *purappādu* land belonging to (*ayiti*) that department to be granted to her.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Rajādhi Rāja Simha transferred a holding to an applicant when the original holder, a *sattambi* of the Royal Bath, neglected his duties.<sup>14</sup>

Lands for which the service could only be performed by men, could not as a rule be held by women. Thus a woman of Sabaragamuva who held land granted for military service stated that having neglected to supply two guns when called upon by Piḷima Talavve, her holding was confiscated and given to one Wijēsīṃha Mudaliyar of Mātara.<sup>15</sup> Similarly it was incompetent for a woman to retain land held for *kapu* service which could only be performed by men.<sup>16</sup> But such service lands could descend to, or be acquired by females if they were allowed to commute the service for money, or to provide a substitute to perform the service. On the other hand, certain lands could only be held by women, e.g., for the service of dancing at a *dēvāla*,<sup>17</sup> or for *ālatti* service.<sup>18</sup>

7. The term *vāḍavasam* which admirably describes service-holdings was probably coined in British times. (cf. D'Oyly, 1910 ed).

8. cf. Codrington (1938), 13.

9. BJC, 13-11-1823, (in Lawrie Mss. III).

10. It has been suggested that lands without reference to any regular service may have been held for special personal service such as espionage. (de Lanerolle, 1938). Lands exempted from service due to old age were entered in the *lēkam miṭi* (*Dodanwela Bandara vs. Ehelapola Kumarihamy*, BJC, 12-2-1822. CGA 23/6).

11. After the execution of a *mohottāla*, six *lēkams* were directed to take an account of his property, by order of the king (*Pannaala Henaya vs. Oudapitiye Basnāyaka Lēkam et al.*, BJC, 6-8-1817. CGA 23/3).

12. e.g., for want of water for irrigation (*Madagedera Dingirala vs. Ekanayake Mudiyanse*, BJC, 16-12-1822. CGA 23/7), or for failure of heirs.

13. *Kapukotuwegedera Ran Etana vs. Kalu Appu*, BJC 2-9-1817 (CGA 23/3).

14. *Palleywelle Sattambi vs. Galagoda Kasakara Lēkam*, BJC 27-12-1817. (CGA 23/3).

15. BJC, 18-5-1824, (Lawrie Mss. III).

16. BJC, 10-6-1835, (*ibid*).

17. *PunchiNatchera vs. Malewaria*, BJC 1-7-1817, (CGA 23/3).

18. BJC, 26-12-1818, and 27-1-1826 (Lawrie Mss. III).

A holder of land who was unable or unwilling to perform service could, in some cases, alienate his land to another, and the chiefs stated that by the custom of the country, lands held for the service of *talpat*-bearer to the king, could be sold or transferred, the purchaser or transferee performing the *rājakāriya* or providing a person to perform it on his behalf.<sup>19</sup> When the *adhikārama* ordered Millempiṭiya Lēkam of Sabaragamuva to perform service as a soldier and furnish *aḍukku* for soldiers who accompanied the chief, the holder preferred to transfer his *gamvasam* portion to another in consideration of six *amuṇams* of paddy and ten *riḍi*, and the transferee performed the services demanded.<sup>20</sup> On one occasion creditors seized the land of a woman in debt, taking her children into slavery as well. But nemesis awaited them when *payiṇḍakārayō* from Kandy were sent to order performance of *rājakāriya* for the land, and because they refused, the crop was sequestered to the crown, and the new holder flogged and imprisoned for his contumacy. But having purged his contempt by the jail sentence, he agreed to perform the service, and enjoyed the land for twenty years.<sup>21</sup> Not all land could be transferred by private arrangement: *maḍuve* lands could not be held even by an heir of the original grantee without royal sanction.

Service-holdings could as a rule be abandoned by those who wished to be free of onerous *rājakāriya*, for the service attached to the land rather than to the person, lands being spoken of as "belonging to" *koḍituvakkuva rājakāriya* or to *atapattu rājakāriya*. He who relinquished the king's land and tilled another's field as an *aṇḍakārayā*, sharing the crop with the proprietor of the land, might indeed have lived at ease in comparison with those liable to perform *rājakāriya*, for an *aṇḍakārayā* was free from taxes and only liable to render light occasional services,<sup>22</sup> e.g., a hen or a mat delivered to the king on extraordinary occasions "for as much as they use the Wood and Water that is in his Countrey."<sup>23</sup> But even if there were many who relinquished their service-holdings, there were always others willing to stand in the breach and perform the despised service. An aged man thus gave his sword and gun to another and made over his lands on condition that he be maintained during life, and the transferee undertook to perform the military service in his stead.<sup>24</sup> A *mulpamguva* or whole estate might sometimes be divided in order to

19. *Ondoorville Gebenaralle vs. Gurruhami*, BJC 13-3-1817, (CGA 23/2).

20. *Muddenaike Rala vs. Millewittiye Gamarala*, BJC 6-8-1817, (CGA 23/3).

21. *Samaderie, a Hakuru woman vs. Garrutara, a Hakuru*, BJC 9-9-1817, (CGA 23/3).

22. D'Oyly (1835), 44.

23. Knox (1681), 69.

24. *Mahakehelwatte Unnanse vs. Baduwattege Appu*, BJC 6-5-1819 (CGA 23/5).



lighten the burden of *rājakāriya*, the arrangement being known as *karamāru*, literally relief or change of shoulders, the holder of each portion performing part of the service.<sup>25</sup>

There were certain intangible considerations which urged people to retain their service-holdings despite the fact that they may have been obliged to journey annually to Kandy for *rājakāriya*, leaving their homes and families, at times for three months in the year.<sup>26</sup> The attachment to ancestral property was remarkably strong, and people were particularly unwilling to lose possession of their *nama gama*—the estate and family name derived from it.<sup>27</sup> Lands abandoned on account of failure of heirs<sup>28</sup> or neglect of *rājakāriya* were designated *purappādu-vasam*, and were re-allotted by the *disāva* of the province in which they were situate, in consideration of a *bulat-surulla*, which “fee” was a recognized perquisite of office.<sup>29</sup> But such lands could be reclaimed by the original proprietor or even by his heirs-at-law, whenever they were in a position to perform the service, on payment of a fee, unless their rights were proscribed by subsequent possession for a period of thirty years or more.<sup>30</sup> In the case of a low-caste man destined to heavy menial service, even if he could secure employment as an *añḍakārayā*, loyalty to his group to which he was bound by strong affective ties would cause him to think twice before he finally opted for the chimera of freedom.

The rooted idea that the servile position of a *nilakārayā* was because he was “tied to the soil” is a misleading interpretation of social relations through modern ideas of the inherent degradation of “serfdom.” But in the context of the social system itself, it was the very fact that a *nilakārayā* could be expelled from his holding

25. D'Oyly (1835), 65. In *Meragalle Pedellagedera Dinga vs. Kiria* (BJC 30-7-1822, CGA 23/7), it was stated that five descendants of a common ancestor possessed the *mulpanguva* of 3 *pālas* and performed the service in turns.

26. The incidence of polyandry has been attributed to this circumstance, the arrangement being for one brother at least to remain in charge of the joint-wife while the others were away on *rājakāriya*.

27. cf. the *puskola* petition of Ururuvavela Kunam Maduve Lēkam: “If our village so long enjoyed as a heritable *pravēni* be given to an improper person, this is tantamount to giving him our family name, and to deprive us of a name and village which we have held for so considerable a period would be manifestly unjust.” The petitioner claimed that 44 persons of his family had been *adhikāramas*, while 85 had at various times been *disāvas*. (BC, 1816. CGA 21/145).

28. *Wakirigalla Kuda Unnanse vs. The Government of Ceylon*, BJC 27-2-1826 (CGA 23/17).

29. *Wahalapitiya Happugedera Yaka vs. Dawundagedera Polingwa*, BJC 18-9-1822, (CGA 23/7).

30. According to the chiefs title was extinguished by having abandoned *maḍuva* lands for fifty years (*Kurulumaduwardera Kiri Etana vs. Kikela-dema Sieuralle*, BJC 17-10-1822. CGA 23/7). cf. also Pieris (1955).

that made him inferior to the *paṅgukāraya* whose privilege it was to be tied to the soil, or rather, to tie himself to his inherited land. Hence the anxiety of people to register acquired property together with *pravēni* lands as one service-portion.

The inhabitants of the *uḍa raṭa* villages were not always of one caste, and in the environs of Kandy in particular, a number of *badda* or “departments” had subjects and interests in the same *pattuva*, or even in one and the same village. Thus a man in possession of a field of five *pālas* extent, held three *pālas* for the service of watching at the water-spout in the Palace, and the other two *pālas* for furnishing firewood for the Nāta *dēvāla*, and both the palace official in charge of the guard, and the *basnāyaka-nīlamē* of the temple had interests in the land in question.<sup>31</sup> The state departments were organized on a functional as well as a territorial basis: in a given province each caste or rank was attached to a separate department, held lands in consideration of the *rājakāriya* required of it, and had its own headman. In many cases the king himself required the services of specialized artisans, craftsmen, and labourers who were dispersed in various parts of the kingdom. In order to secure their attendance at the capital a chief was appointed over them in each province. If the officer was commissioned by the king himself, he bore the title *nīlamē*, if by a *disāva* he was styled *vidāna*.<sup>32</sup> (The head of a low caste was not necessarily of that caste, but the *vahumpura*, *baḍahāla*, and *paduva* castes had their own headmen, known as *durayā*).

In this fashion a mechanism was evolved through which the labour resources of the kingdom could be mobilized for public service, particularly in wartime and national emergencies. The division of social labour based on caste and rank was institutionalised in a number of service “departments.” Possession of land was the reward of service in one or other of these departments or guilds, and the country may be said to have been administered through the medium of the land system. The *baḍahālayō* or potters, for instance, came on annual *rājakāriya* to Kandy in rotation, from four provinces—Four Kōraḷēs, Seven Kōraḷēs, Ūva, and Mātālē. Each provincial chief of the potter's department sent his quota of men to the capital for three months of the year to perform whatever service required of them during two months of that period, receiving only rations for their pains<sup>33</sup>. Thus the king always had some potters at his service.

It is evident that the organization of such a system would have been impracticable had there been as many castes as there were

31. *Hilpankanduragedera Kalu vs. Tennegedera Ampillia Arachilla*, BJC 8-8-1822, (CGA 23/7).

32. Davy (1821), 157.

33. D'Oyly (1835), 13, 44.



in India. But here the caste divisions were relatively few<sup>34</sup> and the "caste system" could be conveniently utilized in the administration of the kingdom, almost every caste constituting a state department. Since *rājakāriya* attached to land rather than to the individual, a *goyigama* man would not hold land earmarked for a potter, and *vice versa* low-caste holdings were reserved for members of specific departments. Further, certain services were monopolized by a few families within a caste, and on one occasion the royal *talpat vadannakārayō* objected to the employment of a man whose mother's family had never served the king.<sup>35</sup> Caste and family status were thus legally recognized. Fission and multiplication of caste was rare since a new caste might have had no place in the social order. There is evidence, however, that certain immigrant tribes from India were attached to new departments created for them, and came to be recognized as separate "Sinhalese" castes, the immigrants having acquired the indigenous language and religion.<sup>36</sup> The *halāgama* caste, attached to the cinnamon department is a prominent case in point.<sup>37</sup> Even the Moormen attached to the *maḍigē* or carriage-bullock department, were regarded as a quasi-caste.<sup>38</sup>

Most of the castes were connected with departments charged with specialized occupational functions. The *radavō* were the traditional washermen, the *kinnaru* the weavers, the *beravāyō* the drummers, and so on. In the case of certain services a new department might be created by the king, and certain families of an existing caste attached to it. Thus the *lūnu-badda* which provided the royal kitchen with onions and garlic was manned by a few *padu* families under a *nilamē* commissioned by the king. Likewise the *rahu-badde* consisted in the main of about fifty families of *beravāyō* whose *rājakāriya* it was to dance at the festivals of the gods. On the other hand, certain

34. Davy (1821) lists twenty-five castes and sub-castes (cf. pt. 5, appendix I).

35. *Sirale vs. Halliadde Talupota Waduna Mudiyanse*, BJC 17-7-1817, (CGA 23/3).

36. cf. Pieris (1952).

37. cf. Johnston (1835). The foreign origin of the *halāgama* people is shown in the fact that although long domiciled in the country, they continued to pay the *ūliyam* payable by foreigners for the privilege of residence in the country.

38. The only reason why the "Kandyān Moors" were not a caste proper was that they retained their religion. In *Ekanaikagedera Dingiri Menika vs. Udagedera, late Korala Arachilla*, BJC 21-3-1829 and 19-12-1829 (CGA 23/24 and 25), the status of a *goyigama* or *raḥē* woman marrying a Moorman was discussed at length, and the Chiefs after due deliberation stated that although Moormen (*marakkalayō*) were not considered one of the Sinhalese "tribes" (*gōtra*), yet according to ancient usage they ranked second among the five *nayide* castes. But Moormen were always considered inferior to *goyigama* people, and no intermarriage between them was ever sanctioned, and according to sentiment universally prevalent, if a *raḥē* woman married a Moorman, she would be deemed to have totally lost her caste and station in society which by law would prove a bar to her inheriting her parents' estate.

departments which no longer served any useful purpose would have their *rājakāriya* changed. Thus the *kukkan maḍuva* or royal kennel establishment was amalgamated with a military department, while the *dunukāra* department of archers were later responsible for supplying the royal stores with turmeric. Finally, on one occasion when the villagers of an Ūva village assembled to pay their annual *dākum* to the chief, they were informed that their services would in future be transferred from the *multāngē* or royal kitchen, to *disāva rājakāriya*.<sup>39</sup>

The people of the various departments were not always employed in the direct service of the king, and were also employed for regional duties, some of them attending the *disāva* of the province at his *valavva* which, as was mentioned before, was a demi-official establishment. It often happened that in some departments not all those liable to service were required to attend, and those who wished to be excused would pay a fee known as *mura ridi* in commutation of service. Their work being in charge of their chief, who in turn came under the orders of the *disāva* of the province, the fee was divided between them. Even in the case of *rājakāriya* performed in the capital, there being usually more persons in each shift or turn of duty than the quota actually required, the king was not particularly interested in the number of people actually employed, so long as the work was completed. Thus the quota of *atapattu* people who came on duty varied from twenty-five to fifty. But there were many more liable for service in each shift, and in Four Kōraḷēs those who did not attend paid a fixed commutation fee of two *ridi* per person for each shift of thirty days. Of the total commutation fees collected, twenty *ridi* were given up to the *atapattu lēkam*, five to the *āraccis*, the remainder being the perquisite of the *disāva* of the province.

The nature of functional devolution can be exemplified by detailing the organization of the *atapattu-vasam* in Four Kōraḷēs.<sup>40</sup> Here, on account of the respectability of the *atapattu* people who held first rank, many *gamvasamkārayō* and *kodituvakkukārayō* sought enrolment in the department by favour of the *disāva*, and in a case on record, a *bulatsurulla* to Piḷima Talavve enabled holders of *hēvāvasam* or military lands to be transferred to *atapattu* service.<sup>41</sup> The *atapattu* people were subject to an *atapattu lēkam* over the whole, and four *āraccis*, one in each *kōraḷē*. The *āraccis* preceded the *deḷkoḍiya* or Great Banner of the *disāvanē*, and were therefore also known as *peramuna rāla*. The *atapattukārayō* attended the *disāva's valavva* on duty in three shifts, each having a month of service, and two of rest, or four months service and eight of rest each year. Their

39. BJC, 15-3-1826, (CGA 23/7).

40. cf. D'Oyly (1835), 7-8.

41. *Ambawelle Wedarala vs. Nedeniya Appu*, BJC 3-7-1819, (CGA 23/5)



principal duty was to convey the *disāva*'s orders throughout his province, summoning people whose attendance was required for judicial inquiries, for service, and for payment of dues.<sup>42</sup> They also kept guard in the *atapattu maḍuva* situated near the *disāva*'s house. In the *maḍuva* they had charge of the banner, the *lēkam-miṭṭiya* or Land Rolls, and the *mura āyudha*, and had the custody of prisoners confined there. They punished offenders with the open hand on order of the *disāva*, and held criminals while they were chastised with rods by the *koḍituvakku* people. They attended the *disāva* when he went abroad, one of them carrying his *delkoḍiya* on public occasions (e.g., the *perahāra*), and the *mura avudha* when he went to the palace or elsewhere. They also prepared withs and cajans for buildings. The *atapattu* people were exempt from payment of *kada-rājakāriya* or any duties to the king.

42. *Atapattu* men announced the result of a land suit in the village in which the land was situate. (*Hippule Lekam vs. Owitte Appuhamy*, BJC 3-4-17. CGA 23/2).

## II

## THE MILITIA

THE backbone of the militia was a small standing army a few hundred strong, forming the personal bodyguard of the king.<sup>43</sup> Besides this *paḍikāra hēvāpannē* consisting largely of Malay mercenaries, was the native militia comprising the *hēvāvasam* and *lēkam* departments.<sup>44</sup> Further, the personnel of certain primarily military departments such as the *koḍituvakkukārayō* or artillerymen, were always on call for military service. The history of the *maḍuve* department well illustrates the flexibility of the state departments in the face of changing social needs, for it became a military corps as a result of the amalgamation of two departments, one of which had no connection whatsoever with military service. This was an establishment originally instituted by Rājasiṃha II to take charge of the *kukkan maḍuva* which housed a pack of dogs trained for the chase, the department being manned by people from Hēvāhāṭa who trained and tended the hounds and accompanied the king on his hunting expeditions.

The other nucleus of the *maḍuve* department was founded in Kīrti Sri's time in consequence of the Dutch Wars, when the king formed several companies of soldiers to guard his person and the palace. As a zealous Buddhist, Kīrti Sri's religious scruples induced him to forego the pleasures of the chase, though not the necessities of defence, and the *kukkan maḍuva* people were transferred to the new corps of guards. This was the beginning of a formidable force of *goyigama* caste soldiers, uniformed with red caps and white jackets, each *pēruva* or company being commanded by a *lēkama*. One of the offices held by Piḷima Talavva Adhikārama was that of *maḍuve lēkama*.<sup>45</sup>

43. Andrews (1795), Codrington (1938), 180. It is incorrect then to say that there was no standing army (cf. Sir Ivor Jennings' Notes on the Lawrie Mss., UCR, X, 1952, for such an assertion). In 1810 reports reached the British that there were drilling in Kandy 250 or 300 Malays, 200 Kaffirs, about 20 sepoys, 250 Moormen and 400 Malabars. But no Sinhalese had been conscripted (D'Oyly's *Diary*, December 1st. and 9th., 1810).

44. cf. Codrington (1933), 388. It would appear that the *goyigama* caste was originally regarded as the militia proper and were taxed as such (Davy, 1821.115). Under Parākrama Bāhu I (reg. A.D. 1153-1186), "the army dwelling in the country," (*raththavasika senava* Mhv. 70, 89; 75, 102) comprised these same agriculturists (Geiger. 1938 a).

45. cf. Lawrie (1898).



Originally the *maḍuve* people received monthly salaries, but as the king's coffers were depleted on account of the cost of the Dutch Wars, confiscated and other crown lands were allotted them as tenants-at-will, in lieu of pay. But some distinguished soldiers were rewarded by permanent grants which became hereditary and could only be resumed in case of default of *maḍuve rājakāriya* by the grantee or his heirs. Eventually there were four descriptions of *maḍuve vāḍavasam* :

1. Lands granted by *sannasa* bearing the king's signature, or by *siṭṭuva* bearing the *adhikārama*'s signature,<sup>46</sup> either of which conferred *pravēni* title. Those whose *pravēni* title to *maḍuve* lands originated in a verbal gift from the king were less secure and were sometimes unlawfully dispossessed by their chiefs and, according to D'Oyly, feared to complain of the injustice.<sup>47</sup> But it should be noted that in cases of verbal grants and immunities (e.g., exemption from *kat-hāl-rājakāriya*), there was a strong presumption that the favour was only temporary. Even *pravēni* lands held in consideration of *maḍuve* service could not be alienated by deed. Nor did they automatically vest in the heirs at law on the death of a proprietor : the circumstance had to be represented, and the nearest relative of the deceased, if fit for *maḍuve* service, was taken to the king who conferred the land upon him.<sup>48</sup>
2. Lands granted without *sannasa* or *siṭṭuva* as temporary grants, that is, they were to be held so long as the grantee himself was able to perform the *rājakāriya*, and no longer. In the event of infirmity or death the land became *purappāḍu* and vested in the crown pending re-allotment to another.<sup>49</sup>

The above two categories constituted the *parana gamkāra pēruva*, or the landed class *ab initio*, in contradistinction to the subsequently enrolled stipendiary class on the one hand, and a new landed class on the other. A few proprietors of *pravēni* lands attached to other departments voluntarily registered themselves with their lands in the *parana gamkāra pēruva*, on account of its prestige. Seven *maḍuve* companies were formed in this manner, one for each province, and the cadre of each province differed on account of the varying

46. He did not necessarily "sign" it with his own hand. On this problem of signatures in deeds cf. Pieris. 1955). Migastāne Adhikārama signed as "Dumbara" (BJC, 16-11-1821 in Lawrie Mss. Vol. IV).

47. D'Oyly (1835), 74.

48. cf. BJC, 13-10-1819, CGA 23/30, and 4-9-1829, CGA 23/21.

49. cf. the statement by the chiefs, BJC 13-12-1821, (CGA 23/8).

extents of *purappāḍu* land available.<sup>50</sup> The eighth *maḍuve* company comprised one of the two original nuclei of the department, namely the personnel of the royal kennels, and remained a separate unit in the new service. After the Dutch Wars the personnel of these eight *gamkāra* companies were permitted to leave the capital and reside in the country if they chose, being liable to serve as guards on state occasions, two companies attending for twenty days, while the six companies at ending for twenty days, while the six companies off-duty were summoned when a large body of men was required.

3. *Paḍikāra pēruva*, or stipendiary class, when instituted by Kirti Sri consisted of four companies with twenty-one men in each. In the reign of his successor Rajādhi Rāja Siṃha, it was augmented to seven companies with thirty-two, and later fifty men in each. The last king increased the strength of the *pēruva* to twenty-three companies with thirty-two men in each. After the Dutch Wars the *paḍikārayō* were retained for constant attendance at the palace, while the *gamkāra* class served in shifts.
4. *Alut pēruva* consisted of seven new companies of ten to twenty men each taken from the different *lēkam* departments of the seven *uḍa raṭa*, the tenure of their lands being changed to *maḍuve* service.<sup>51</sup>

The *hēvāvasama* was the department composed of "lascorins" proper. The *hēvāyā* or soldier was frequently of low caste (particularly of *paḍuva* or *batgam* caste), but if he was of respectable birth he was styled *hēvānannūhē*. The *hēvāvasam* were subject to a *kōrāla* who, in Sabaragamuva at any rate, derived no benefit from their lands. The profit of the *mutteṭṭu* fields, as well as *aṇḍa* and *otu* dues, went to the soldier-proprietor.<sup>52</sup>

Of the other military departments, those composed of artillerymen and musketeers were formed in consequence of the knowledge of gunpowder and mechanized warfare gained in the Portuguese Wars of the sixteenth century. These departments performed other miscellaneous duties besides actual fighting. The *koḍituvakkukārayō* or artillerymen were mostly low caste *paḍu* folk and constituted a military as well as a police force. In Four Kōrālēs they were under

50. The last king, finding that each of these seven companies had only twenty men each, ordered Piḷima Talavva Adhikārama to increase the cadres to thirty. At that time Pānabokke Muhandiram Appu was a *maḍuve āraci*. For all this cf. *Vatupulle Undiya Rala vs. Heratge Undiye Rala*, BJC 16-5-1817, (CGA 23/2).

51. D'Oyly (1835), 72-74.

52. Wright (1818).



the orders of a *muhandiram*, and a *durayā* who was of their own caste. They attended the *disāva's* *valavva* in shifts with their chiefs, absentees paying a *mura ridi* or fine. They guarded a building known as *kodituvakku maḍuva* in which the gingalls of the *disāva* were stored, and had custody of the more atrocious prisoners of inferior caste. They were sometimes sent to the country to seize criminals and refractory persons. They carried gingalls when the *disāva* went on circuit, e.g., to conscript young men for the army, and also on public occasions. They dug and carried earth and did other menial service for the king or the *disāva*, but they did not fell nor drag timber, nor did they furnish water or firewood.

Besides the manpower resources of the military departments, there was in times of national emergency, a system of conscription. The *gabadaḍagam*, as the king's estates, were required to send able-bodied young men for military service, and on occasion "thousands of men" were made available from these royal villages for drilling in Kandy.<sup>53</sup> When war was imminent, *disāvas* would be dispatched to their *disāvanēs* to enlist a representative or two from each *vasama* or service-holding for the army. We read of several celebrated *disāvas* touring their provinces rounding up men to wage war against the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British. Piḷima Talavve, the most influential chief of the early nineteenth century, visited Sabaragamuva and ordered holders of *gamvasama* lands to provision the Malabar troops of that province.<sup>54</sup> In 1812, Ratvatte *disāva* instructed his officials to list the men and guns in Uḍapola Kōraḷē and on the very day the lists were begun, four men and their four guns were registered.<sup>55</sup> Again, in Three Kōraḷēs, the *maha lēkama* made a list of guns for the king's information, while the *raṭē mohoṭṭāla* and the *valavva mohoṭṭāla* made corresponding lists for the *disāva*.<sup>56</sup> We also read that the *disāva* of a province would issue an order for two representatives of each *vasama* to be prepared with twenty day's provisions and to have torches (*hulu*) ready to be given up when required, at the rate of one hundred for each *vasama*.<sup>57</sup> The whole kingdom could thus be mobilized for warfare.

Early in the last century, British spies reported on preparations for war in Kandy as follows :

'The people of Kandy said that they were making preparations for War. He saw only that the Dutchman was superintending the making of gunpowder in the *veḍibēt maḍuva*, and people were cleaning and repairing guns in the *kammatama*. There are several Sinhalese drilling—21 divisions of 30 men each. Composed of young men of all castes, they wore high black soldier's

53. cf. D'Oyly's *Diary*, 20 and 24-11-1810.

54. *Ibid.*, 12-10-1810.

55. BJC, 24-3-1817, (CGA 23/2). Ahālēpoḷa stated that there were Malabar soliders in Ūva, Sabaragamuva, and Kandy. (PRO. CO 54/52).

56. D'Oyly's *Diary*, 3-10-1810.

57. *Ibid.*, 20-11-1810.

caps, black jackets and white trowsers, and exercise with guns. Their chiefs wear three-cornered hats. The *maḍuve* people are distinct and wear red jackets. He saw in the streets 5 Malabar men said to have come very lately from the Coast with a letter. They wore turbans, red jackets, and black trowsers. He also met two or three Letters, brought by messengers on the road, one by a Malabar man of this country who said he came from Trincomale. On the road through Seven Kōraḷēs he was told by a *Kōraḷa* and also by a *Mohoṭṭiyar* that in the *disāvanēs* the people were enrolling. The Sinhalese above stated, who are drilled morning and evening, are employed during the day in raising a rampart round *maha dēvāle*.<sup>58</sup>

Portuguese sources provide rough estimates of the military resources of the Kandyan Kingdom in the late sixteenth century. According to Queyroz, Kandy provided 28,000 men, and Ūva 12,000, all armed with bows and arrows : these men enjoyed the privilege of fighting only within the *uḍa raṭa*. In the lowlands, the king could command only 10,200 soldiers.<sup>59</sup> A Sinhalese war-poem of the seventeenth-century recites that Rājasimha II collected an army of 70,000 soldiers from all parts of the kingdom.<sup>60</sup> According to Knox, each *mohoṭṭi-rāla* kept a register of the company under his command, each of which had 970 men.<sup>61</sup> It has been mentioned that the *mohoṭṭi-rālas* of the mid-seventeenth century gradually lost their peculiarly military character and the *disāva* of each province led the troops, his flag being the rallying point of the army.

Of guerilla warfare the Kandyan Sinhalese made a fine art for they had the advantage of knowing the impenetrable jungles. "For all they do is by crafty strategems. They will never meet their enemies in the field," was Knox's sardonic observation.<sup>62</sup> Their disadvantages in the open field may partly have been due to their lack of discipline. We read how "the armies never march in ranks, and almost all the soldiers take their wives and children, and it is a sight to see a lascorin carry a suckling babe in his arms and on his hand a basket of pots and pans for cooking, and the wife behind with the spears or the arquebus on her back, and instead of the wadworm a wooden spoon in the barrel."<sup>63</sup> They carried their own provisions with them, and when these were exhausted, returned home to fetch more, "so that after a Month or two a great part of the Army is always absent."<sup>64</sup>

58. *Ibid.*, 1-12-1810.

59. Queyroz (1687), 95. Ahālēpoḷa's estimates of the troops to the British authorities must be discounted, for he was out to impress upon them the military weakness of the king. Thus the total supernumeraries in Uḍa Palāta, Uḍunuvara, Yaṭinuvara, Tumpanē, Hārispattuva, Dumbara, Hēvāhāta, and Valapanē, are estimated at 915 ! (PRO. CO 54/52).

60. *Mandārapura Puvata* (de Lanerolle ed. 1954). Greeving's *Diary* of 26-6-1804 mentions a Kandyan army of sixty or seventy thousand, and that the *disāva* of Four Kōraḷēs was for three or four months continually in the field with forty thousand men. (PRO. CO 54/12).

61. Knox (1681), 88.

62. *Ibid.*, 89.

63. Queyroz (1687), 95.

64. Knox, *loc. cit.*



En route the army camped at night in huts constructed out of the *talpat* leaves they carried, "fixing sticks into the ground and laying other pieces of Wood overthwart, after the manner of the roof of an House, and so lay their leaves over all, to shoot the Rains off. Making these Tents stronger or slighter, according to the time of their tarriance."<sup>65</sup> In time of danger watches were set all over the country, "in all towns [i.e., villages] and in all places and in every cross-road exceeding thick that it is not possible for any to pass unobserved."<sup>66</sup> At such times passports consisting of the imprint of a seal on a clay slab were issued: "The Seals are different, according to the Profession of the Party: as to a Soldier the print of a man with a Pike on his Shoulder: to a Labourer, a Man with two Bags hanging on each end of a Pole upon his Shoulder, which is the manner they commonly carry their Loads [i.e. the pingo]. And to a white man, the Passport is the print of a Man with a Sword by his side, and a Hat on his Head."<sup>67</sup>

From the Portuguese Wars the Sinhalese gained rich experience, and were quick to master European methods of warfare. They learnt to drill and to form squadrons,<sup>68</sup> and to build brick-work fortifications instead of their thorn-gates. They fashioned firelocks and muskets which supplemented their spears, bows and arrows, so that their offensive arms came to be "almost the same as in Europe," their artillery in the late sixteenth century being "the best and finest in the world, for the curious and artful way in which they cast and turn it out."<sup>69</sup> According to the seventeenth-century war-poem *Mandārampura Puvata*, Vimala Dharma Sūrya I re-opened one hundred and seventy five iron works and furnaces in different parts of the country.<sup>70</sup>

Although at times the Sinhalese may have fled at the sight of blood,<sup>71</sup> on other occasions they showed great courage and a remarkable disregard for life.<sup>72</sup> In times of grim warfare they resorted to

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*

68. Queyroz (1687), 70.

69. Menezes (1681). Pyrard (1618), II. 142. wrote that the Sinhalese made all sorts of arms such as arquebuses, swords, pikes, etc. "Which are the best and most valued in the Indies." cf. also Ribeiro (1685), 41. For reference to the early bow-and-arrow troops cf. Andre de Souza to the King of Portugal, 20-12-1545, in P. E. Pieris and M. A. H. Fitzler (1927), Document 22.

70. De Lanerolle (1954 ed.). This same source mentions that at one time there were as many as two thousand iron foundries in Ceylon.

71. The mediaeval Sinhalese were scarcely more valiant than the Kandyans. The chroniclers unblushingly recount many instances of soldiers running away when the exposed to unexpected danger (*Mhv.*, 66. 89-90; 104 67). The tone of the chroniclers indicate that such scenes were common, and by no means contemptible in their eyes. (cf Geiger. 1938 a).

72. Queyroz (1687) gives instances of cowardice as well as courage. (cp. the account on page 183 with that on 287).

cruelties matched only by their Portuguese adversaries. Prisoners were mutilated and thrown to elephants to be trampled to death.<sup>73</sup> It was a common sight during hostilities for heads of enemies killed in action to be planted on posts on the wayside.

73. Queyroz (1687), 587; and Knox (1681), 283-184.



## III

## REVENUE AND ECONOMY

THE system of service tenures eliminated to a large extent the use of money in everyday economic transactions. Even the craftsmen did not gain their livelihood solely by their hereditary skills, and depended for their subsistence mainly on agriculture. In the mid-seventeenth century Knox observed that "all sorts of Money is here very scarce : And they frequently buy and sell by exchanging Commodities. . . Money being scarce, Corn passeth instead of Money."<sup>74</sup> A century and a half later, Andrews on his embassy to the Court of Kandy (1795), was struck by the conspicuous absence of specie in circulation, all commerce being carried on by means of barter.<sup>75</sup> "As trade was unknown to the greater part of the Kandyan nation, the contracts were neither numerous nor varied and consisted chiefly in the borrowing of money or grain for present necessity, the former to pay fees [*bulatsurullu*] or fines [*daḍa*] to their chiefs, or (by the chiefs) to satisfy similar demands from the king, the latter for sowing and for subsistence."<sup>76</sup> Men who were pressed for money to discharge a debt, or to pay a *bulatsurulla* to a chief, would mortgage their lands.<sup>77</sup>

The exorbitant rates of interest current were sufficient proof of the scarcity of floating money. Interest (*poḷi*) was charged at the rate of one hundred per centum in Kandy, and fifty in the country.<sup>78</sup> No interest was chargeable if the principal was repaid within the year, but otherwise the time-factor did not enter into the reckoning, and notwithstanding the indefinite protraction of the period of the loan, interest did not increase for any term beyond a year. In the alternative, the rate of interest may be stipulated, e.g., 20 per cent.<sup>79</sup> It was also customary to borrow grain for consumption, to be repaid at the next harvest, the established rate of interest being fifty per centum. A creditor would send a representative if he could not go

himself to the field of his debtor at harvest time, to secure payment. "If after receiving it on the spot, he at the entreaty of the debtor, re-delivers it, and allow respite till the next season, the whole is considered as principal and 50 per cent charged upon it the next year—this exaction of compound interest was at one time forbidden by the king as oppressive to the poor, but of course could be prevented only partially in practice. If the debt be suffered to outstand without such receipt and delivery, no more interest is charged than the original 50 per cent."<sup>80</sup>

For loans of paddy the borrower was sometimes required to give a preliminary earnest, which occasioned no diminution of interest ; for money-loans a similar premium known as *attikārama* was sometimes paid "according to the necessity of the borrower and the rigour of the lender." If a debtor died, the principal, whether money or grain, was recoverable from his heirs to the extent of the assets of the deceased, but not the interest. In the computation of interest there were local variations. In Dumbara no interest was chargeable on money or grain, supposedly by order of a former king, but it was often customary to deliver a surplus of one or two *lāhas* on each *pāla* of grain, not as interest, but in order to compensate diminution by drying—presumably a legal fiction. In Seven Kōraḷēs and Nuvarakalāviya no interest was charged on paddy "because it is an abundant article."<sup>81</sup>

The wants of the people of the interior were few and easily supplied so that, in general, "so little was the commerce of the country, and that so engrossed, that its effects were not felt a few miles outside the principal ports."<sup>82</sup> Monied men were few, and consisted chiefly of Moors<sup>83</sup> and Malabars<sup>84</sup> who controlled the trade of the kingdom, since the Kandyan Sinhalese always had a deep abhorrence for commerce. The foreigners who were authorized to keep shops and trade in the sea-board were bound to labour for three months in the year (*ūḷiyam*)<sup>85</sup> Similarly, the Moormen who possessed pack-bullocks with which they transported the king's grain, brought salt from the Coast, and traded on the king's behalf, were liable to unlimited and gratuitous calls for the service of their cattle, besides

80. D'Oyly (1835), 63.

81. *loc. cit.*

82. cf. Governor North's Dispatch in PRO. CO 54/1.

83. Moors are first heard of in the early eight century. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Muhammedans attained the zenith of their commercial prosperity and political hegemony in South India. In Ceylon they were known by the Portuguese as "Moors." (Codrington. 1938. 51). To the Kandyan Sinhalese the "Moors" domiciled in the Kingdom were known as *marakkalāyō*, and the "Coast Moors" as *hanbankārayō*.

84. According to Davy (1821), 185, the Malabar relatives of the last king lent money at 40 per cent interest until they were prohibited.

85. Bertolacci (1816), 385.

74. Knox (1681), 157, 156.

75. Andrews (1796).

76. Lawrie Mss. I.

77. *Ibid.* The sale of their ancestral acres definitely went against the grain, and in the eyes of the law every sale of land was a veiled mortgage (cf. Pieris. 1955).

78. D'Oyly (1835), 62.

79. Lawrie Mss. I.



having to pay taxes in salt and in fish, which they were obliged to deliver into the royal stores in Kandy free of all cost to the government. For these onerous services they possessed no service-lands : "permission to reside and settle in the Kandyan country was deemed sufficient compensation."<sup>86</sup>

In consequence of commercial atrophy on the one hand, and the perfection of an economy based on service-tenures on the other, the history of currency in Ceylon is hardly more than a tale of debasement and inflation. In the tenth century the gold *masuran* was in use ; under Vijaya Bāhu I (A.D. 1056-1111) gold coins were so debased as to be practically silver, washed with gold. "These probably were issued officially as gold, but cannot have been current among the merchants and money-lenders for anything but silver, with the result that a new fraud was attempted by washing base metal with silver ; it seems probable that all the white metal coins were so treated. By the fourteenth century the word *masuran* was applied to copper. The state of the Ceylon currency is curiously reminiscent of that of the bankrupt Roman empire in the third century."<sup>87</sup> In the late sixteenth century we hear of the silver *larin* and *panama*, but at the time of Sebald de Wirt's expedition circa A.D. 1602 *larins* and *fanams* of gold were still current.<sup>88</sup> For the mid-seventeenth century Knox writes of three types of coin — "the King's proper Coin," known as the *panama*, which none on pain of death may mint ; the *taṅgam massa*, originally coined by the Portuguese and valued at nine English pence, the *poḍi taṅgama* being worth half as much ; and the silver *ridi* which was later amalgamated with the *taṅgam massa*.<sup>89</sup>

In the eighteenth century the only gold coin was the Indian *pagoda*. There were also copper *salli*, sixty-four of which made a silver *ridi*, and in deeds of sale drawn up late in the century mention is made of the rough Dutch *stuvier*, styled *tutṭu* in Sinhalese, which found its way into the Kandyan kingdom in large quantities, followed by the European struck *salli* (4 *salli* = 1 *tutṭu* ; 4 *tutṭu* = 1 *ridi*). The *larin* or *ridi* was the coin most commonly in use, and was to all intents and purposes the money of account.<sup>90</sup> The form of the

86. BC, Kurunāgala, 10-6-1818 (in Codrington. 1938. 20).

87. Codrington (1924), 73. The specific gravity of the gold coin declined from 11.458 in the time of the Chola emperor, Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1012) to 8.745 in the reign of Niśānka Malla (A.D. 1187-1196) [Specific gravity of gold — 19.26 ; of silver — 10.47]. Codrington (1938) avers that sovereigns faced with national bankruptcy resorted to the expedient of debasement in a desperate bid to prop up a complex administrative system. But debasement was no real solution, and the system of service tenures which eliminated the use of money, was thus adopted.

88. Codrington (1924), 174.

89. Knox (1681), 156-157.

90. Codrington (1924), 174, says that the *ridi* became rarer, but it is the only coin mentioned in lawsuits relating to economic transactions which came up before the Board of Commissioners. It was worth about seven English pence (Davy, 1821, 245).

*ridi* was unusual, being a piece of thick silver wire bent in the shape of a fish-hook, and stamped with whatever mark or impression the maker preferred, for it was made by all people by the king's permission. "The Silver is fine beyond pieces of Eight. For if any suspect the goodness of the Plate, it is the Custom to burn the Money in the fire red hot, and so put it in water : and if it be not then purely white, it is not Currant Money."<sup>91</sup>

Scarcity of specie of all sorts in Kandyan times severely limited the king's money income : the value of the last king's total revenue in specie did not exceed £ 1,500 sterling.<sup>92</sup> The economic resources of the sovereign, besides the multifarious personal services to which he was entitled, may be classified as follows :

1. Presents from the *adhikāramas*, *disāvas*, and other superior officers as fees for their several appointments.
2. *Dākum*, or annual tribute of fixed amount collected by the *disāvas* and other chiefs and paid into the treasury in money, soon after the New Year.
3. Rice or paddy, the produce of *gabaḍāgam*.
4. Produce of royal gardens.
5. Monopoly of arekanut in Four Kōraḷēs, Sabaragamuva, and Three Kōraḷēs. A small duty on arekanut in Three Kōraḷēs.
6. Right of the crown to precious stones.
7. Death duties (*marāḷa*) :<sup>93</sup> "That whensoever any man dies, that hath a stock of Cattel, immediately out thence must be paid a Bull and a Cow with a Calf, and a male and female Buffalo, which tax they call *marāḷa*. And there are Officers appointed whose place it is, to come and carry them away."<sup>94</sup> The *marāḷa* is also referred to as a grain-tax, presumably a heriot imposed on landed proprietors, for Knox mentions that women's land was exempt.<sup>95</sup> The Nāranviṭa Mannalage people held a field subject to *marāḷa rājākāriya*, described as the service of collecting and measuring five measures of paddy from the estates of deceased persons. In this particular village (Nāranviṭa, in Uḍapalāta), *marāḷa* service was abolished in the regin of Kīrti Śrī (reg. A.D. 1747-1782), and transferred

91. Knox (1681), 156. Vaux (1853).

92. Davy (1821), 246. The *ridi* was worth about seven pence English, and was equivalent to sixty-four Kandyan *salli* (*ibid.*, 245).

93. Properly, *marāḷaya* (alt. *maḷāraya*) fr. skt. *mṛta*, "dead," and *hāra*, "what is taken."

94. Knox (1681), 76-77.

95. *Ibid.*, 150.



to that of *mannanā* or measurer of the same village.<sup>96</sup> The *marāḷa* is mentioned in inscriptions of the latter fifteenth century,<sup>97</sup> and in the poem *Saṅgarājavata*.

#### 8. *kada-rājakāriya*, or land-tax.<sup>98</sup>

*Kada-rājakāriya* was by far the most important source of state revenue in Kandyan times, since the whole of the paddy sowing-extent of the kingdom was divided into units measured in terms of *kat*, "pingos," for the purpose of *kat-hāl-rājakāriya*, the pingo-load of rice which was paid into the royal storehouse by all holders of paddy land who had not been specifically exempted from this universal impost.<sup>99</sup> By great favour *kat-hāl* was remitted in the case of a few *dugganna* officials, but if this fact was not noted in the *lēkam-miṭṭiya* the exemption was only temporary, as when Dunuvilla *disāva* was verbally exempted by the last king.<sup>100</sup> Knox states that the lands of soldiers killed on active service were exempt, but not if they died naturally.<sup>101</sup> The units of land on which *kada* duties were calculated varied enormously in different districts. In Four Kōraḷēs the *kada* or pingo was for three *amuṇams* sowing-extent, its divisions being *mukkāl* ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ), *keravala* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), and *kāla* ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ); if fields were small, more than one were grouped together to make a *kada*, intermediate amounts being calculated at one *nāliya* of rice for a *pāḷa* of land, and was known as *dākum*. In this province the *gamvasam* people paid *kada-rājakāriya* according to the *lēkam miṭṭiya* of the *maha gabaḍāva*, each *kada* consisting of twelve *nāli* or measures of rice and eight cocoanuts, while half that amount constituted a *keravala*.<sup>102</sup> In Uḍunuvura and Yaṭinuvura the *kada* was for one *amuṇam*, in

96. Lawrie (1898), II. 634.

97. cf. the Dādigama Slab-Inscription of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI (circa A.D. 1469), *EZ.* III. No. 29, and the Gaḍalādeniya Inscription of Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bāhu (circa A.D. 1511), *EZ.* IV. Bhuvanaika Bāhu V, the puppet-king of the Portuguese kingdom of Kōṭṭe, complained that "many become Christians at a time when they are in such a state as to expect death in two or three days," in order to avoid payment of *marāḷa* (King of Ceilao to Governor Dom Joao Castro, 12-11-1545. Document 12 in Pieris-Fitzler. 1927)

98. D'Oyly's *Memorandum on the Revenue of the Kandyan Kingdom*, annexed to dispatch 96 of 15-3-1815 (PRO. CO 54/55) lists all these items except *marāḷa* which was not levied by the last two kings. But on one occasion the last king revived a "very ancient" practice of taking the entire property of a deceased chief, Elapāta Nilame. The incident enraged the chiefs who said that it had long been forbidden by former kings. (D'Oyly's *Diary*, 2-11-1812). There is no historical evidence of this form of the *marāḷa*.

99. The pingo-load was not necessarily rice alone, and usually included cocoanuts. The term *kada-rājakāriya* also referred to other dues in kind, e.g., coconut-oil, or jaggery. Lands subject to the impost were referred to as *Kat-vasam*. Temples lands were exempt.

100. D'Oyly (1835), 136.

101. Knox (1681), 77.

102. D'Oyly (1835), 9. cf. also *Satara Kōraḷē Maha Lēkam miṭṭiya*.

Seven Kōraḷēs for twelve. A register of lands subject to pingo-duty (*kat-hāl-lēkam-miṭṭiya*) was deposited in the *gabaḍāva*,<sup>103</sup> and if the duty was not duly paid into the royal store, the defaulter could be arrested and kept prisoner in the *gabaḍāgama*.<sup>104</sup>

Although *kada-rājakāriya* was the most universal form of taxation in Kandyan times, there has been no agreement as to its precise import. Codrington contends that it was not any form of grain-tax, "but rather an acknowledgement of sovereignty, an act of homage," without adducing any evidence in support of a theory which makes only landed proprietors owe homage to the sovereign.<sup>105</sup> On the contrary, the evidence points to the validity of D'Oyly's definition of *kada-rājakāriya* as "an annual duty from all provinces in the nature of a land tax paid partly in kind (rice and cocoanuts) and partly in cash."<sup>106</sup> Knox probably referred to this same duty when he wrote of the "rents" paid into the royal storehouse. "These Rents are but little Money, but chiefly Corn, or what grows out of the Ground."<sup>107</sup> Knox's statement that these "rents" were paid three times a year after each harvest is added proof that *kada-rājakāriya* was a land-tax reckoned in terms of "a certain rate of Corn." It recalls to mind the ancient "grain-tax," a quantity of paddy levied per *amuṇam* of land, which Niśsanka Malla, for instance, laid down in an edict.<sup>108</sup>

Fortunately, the *Dumbara hī lēkam miṭṭiya* (Śaka 1731) states precisely what extents of land in the district were liable to *kat-hāl rājakāriya* and what were exempt. Land amounting to 240 *amuṇams*, 2 *pāḷas*, 6 *lāhas*, held in consideration of such royal services as

103. BJC, 3-12-1816, (CGA 23/4).

104. BJC, 6-11-1816, (CGA 23/1).

105. The only argument in favour of the theory is that "almost every inhabitant of the interior was a landed proprietor." (Turnour's evidence before the Colebrooke Commissioners CGA 19/5, G11). But the overwhelming objection is that not even all landed proprietors paid *kat-hāl*.

106. D'Oyly's *memorandum* of 15-3-1815, (PRO. CO 54/52).

107. Knox (1681), 75. Codrington (1938), 53. differentiates *kada-rājakāriya* from Knox's "rent," and states that "if (the latter) tax be not the *vi-badda*, it must be some form of household tax." He also regards it as distinct from the ancient grain-tax. In fact, *vi-badda* may have been another name for *kada-rājakāriya*, current when the due was paid in paddy alone, and this is what Knox writes of as "rent." *Marāḷa* which Codrington mentions in this connection, is a separate death-duty. Phear (1880) opines that the grain-tax was a product of the last century, although a return to a very ancient system. He thus ignores the universality of *kada-rājakāriya* in the intervening Kandyan period. Much of this needless confusion is the result of the pedantic insistence of scholars that every word connotes a separate tax, whereas in reality the same tax may have been levied under different names. Codrington's pre-occupation with terminology makes him lose sight of the system.

108. *EZ.* I. Phear (1880) cites a passage in Buddhagosa's commentary on Buddha's sermon *Aggaṇa Sutta*, "We shall give a portion of our paddy" (*salinam bhagṇam anupa dassama*).



*multāṅgē*, *ulpāṅgē*, *bēṭgē*, and *kūnam maḍuva* did not pay the tax (*kat-hāl no-dī*) and 1013 *amuṇams* held on a *sārāmāru* or temporary basis were also exempt, while 26 *amuṇams*, 2 *pālas*, 2 *lāhas* of land was *purappāḍu*. Lands which did pay *kat-hāl* to the *maha gabaḍāva* (*kat-hāl oppu karala*) comprised only 460 *amuṇams*, 2 *pālas*—that is, a little over one-fourth of the total extent of paddy land in the district. The evidence points to the fact that *kat-hāl* was payable only by those who performed no regular personal service. Thus in Four Kōraḷēs, the *atapattu* people who were liable to all manner of personal service under the *disāva* were exempt, while *gamvasamkārāyō* whose chief duty was to provision officials on circuit, were subject to *kat-hāl rājakāriya*. In effect, *gamvasamkārāyō* were those not attached to any other department, and their services were occasional. In the remoter provinces, individual *kat* were delivered to the headmen, who sent them to the king's store in Kandy. Thus the *rājakāriya* of all the seven Demala Hatpattu (Seven Kōraḷēs) was sent to Kandy in the month of Nikini by the *liyanarāḷa*.<sup>109</sup> But in Four Kōraḷēs the varied *kada* dues ranging from rice and cocoanuts, to oil and jaggery, were delivered directly to the *maha gabaḍāva*.

In Kandyan times both the grain-tax and the system of personal service co-existed, and *kada-rājakāriya* as well as personal service were sometimes commutable for money. Commutation of the grain-tax became convenient and even necessary because the payment of "a certain rate of Corn" by each and every proprietor of land subject to tax would have brought in an abundance of grain which was superfluous for the king, as he had his own villages which supplied the royal storehouses with ample rice and paddy. Small wonder then that Rājasimha II is reported to have scorned to accept these gifts of agricultural produce, and kept his tax-payers waiting several months before he deigned to receive them. At one time Rājasimha allowed a discharge from *kat-hāl rājakāriya* for life on payment of a pecuniary commutation fee, but in the latter half of his reign commutation became infrequent.<sup>110</sup> Subsequently a compromise was arrived at and pingo-duty was paid partly in kind and partly in cash. In the case of personal service, it often happened that in departments performing personal *rājakāriya* in rotation or shifts (*mura*), not all those liable to serve were required to attend, and in commutation of the service they paid a fixed sum known as *mura ridi* to the chief of the district or department in question.<sup>111</sup>

From the commutation of *rājakāriya* there naturally evolved the system of revenue "farming" which became a characteristic feature

109. D'Oyly (1835), 47.

110. Knox, (1681), 77.

111. For the rates of fine for non-attendance of *atapattu* and *kasakāra*, Four Kōraḷēs, cf. BC. CGA 21/111.

of economic organization in the Kandyan Period. There are indications that even as early as the tenth century the revenue was farmed (*badu-karanavā*) by hereditary and other headmen, at least in some districts.<sup>112</sup> The essence of the farming system is that the king, instead of collecting his revenues through a central executive leased that function to provincial chiefs. The term "farm" is here used in a special sense, as there was no outright sale of the right to collect revenue. As Turnour explains, "these contributions and services were exacted by the chiefs for the public, reserving certain defined portions as their perquisites of office."<sup>113</sup> Thus, besides *vāhala kada rājakāriya* delivered to the royal store, certain people also rendered unto the *disāva* dues of lesser amount—that is, *valava kada* and/or a cash payment known as *paṇḍuru mila* at a certain rate per *kada*.<sup>114</sup> This was known as *disāva rājakāriya*, and included the personal services at the disposal of the *disāva*.

The *disāva* enjoyed the *mutteṭṭu* and *aṇḍa* lands of certain *vidāna-gam* assigned to him free of duty, and the villagers cultivated these lands and rendered personal service. In Four Kōraḷēs, besides the *atapattu* department, the *disāva* had the following villages allotted to his use : 3 *nindagam*, 3 villages of *koḍituvakkukārāyō*, 6 *āracci vasams* of *hēvayās* or soldiers, 2 *batgam* villages, 1 *kula muhandiram vasama* (low caste soldiers), the washermen of Kirigoḍa Kōraḷē ; 1 village of palanquin-bearers, and 12 *simhakkārāyō* or drummers.<sup>115</sup> The services of these people bound to the chiefs by their tenures of land have been thus described by Turnour:

'The services are of two kinds, those rendered by them as a retinue attached to a chief, in upholding his station [e.g., the *atapattu* people], and those of a menial kind. The former class are generally divided into three reliefs, each party serving for twenty days alternately. Their service consists in carrying messages, in attendance on the chief himself ; on certain occasions the chief will call out the whole of his retinue to attend him. The menial classes are engaged in duties performed by domestics about his house, in carrying burthens and in other species of labour. They are usually divided into two reliefs, and consist of persons of inferior caste. If the whole should be called out they are generally fed by the chief, otherwise they feed themselves.'<sup>116</sup>

In consideration of these emoluments and privileges the *disāva* paid a consolidated fee on appointment, an annual renewal fee, and other presents. Originally the annual *dākuma*, literally "seeing," and the parallel *penuma*, were tokens of respect, either five *ridi* or a bundle of forty betel leaves given to the king at the annual *dākum*

112. cf. Codrington (1938), 33.

113. Evidence before Colebrooke Commissioners, (CGA 19/5. G. 11).

114. In Four Kōraḷēs *paṇḍuru mila* was 20 *tuṭṭu* per *kada* ; in *maha dēvāla* villages it was one *ridi* paid at the New Year (Codrington. 1938. 35. D'Oyly 1832. 9.).

115. BC. 27-10-1818, (CGA 21/111).

116. Turnour's Evidence before Colebrooke Commissioners 2-9-1829 (PRO. CO 4/6/20).



*maṅgalla*. But money was generally placed on the betel leaves, and the expression *bulatsurulla* was latterly used almost exclusively in the sense of a fee. The revenue system could well have become a hierarchy of extortion: the *disāvas*, as Knox said, "oppress and squeeze the people" through their hirelings, the *mohottālas*, *vidānas*, and others. What militated against the whole administrative system becoming a machine of extortion was the fact that money was scarce and dues were, in part at least, paid in agricultural produce which being more or less perishable, could not be hoarded indefinitely by avaricious chiefs. The chief item of taxation in kind was rice, but it was a peculiar circumstance that although this staple grain had often to be imported from India, there was no local market for any surplus produced at home.<sup>117</sup> The paradox was due to the fact that in times of good harvest practically everyone had enough from his fields, while in times of famine none had a surplus to sell.

Wright has left a detailed statement of the finance of the farming system outlined above (Appendix 1): the profits of the *disāvas* comprised whatever he could make in the form of fees, gifts, and bribes over and above what he paid as tribute into the royal treasury. The lesser chiefs likewise paid a consolidated fee to their superiors in consideration of the right to collect certain dues and fees, and these small fry emulated their betters by feathering their own nests.<sup>118</sup> But it may be mentioned that bribery was not always countenanced and on the death of a *maḍigē vidāna*, the king hearing that he had acquired large property during office, ordered an account of his assets to be made, had it seized for His Majesty's use, and decreed that the relatives of the deceased officer should not be held answerable for his debts.<sup>119</sup> In the reign of the last king certain officials of the royal store were impaled for releasing people from *rājakāriya* and taking bribes from them for the favour.<sup>120</sup>

117. Turnour, op. cit.

118. *Ibid.* The revenue system irresistably calls to mind the conversation of the fishermen in Shakespeare's *Pericles* (II. i):

Third Fisherman: Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea.

First Fisherman: Why, as men do a-land; the great ones eat up the little ones. I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale; a'play and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful.

*Pericles* (aside): A pretty moral.

119. *Talwatte Vidan vs. Bannayake Rala*, BJC 20-5-1817, (CGA 23/2).

120. cf. D'Oyly's *Diary*, 5-4-1812.

#### IV

#### THE LĒKAM-MIṬI<sup>125</sup>

REGISTERS of land had been in existence throughout the Kandyan Period, and placed on record the extents of land which were liable to *rājakāriya*. Many a *lēkam-miṭiya* in existence begins by reciting that it has been compiled to replace another which had been destroyed or decayed. The palm-leaf manuscript *lak-vidhiya*, the original of which antedates the comparatively modern Boundary-books (*kaḍa-im pot*), and may go back to the fourteenth century, contains a reference to සතර ලේකම් බලා "consulting the four registers," and these four kinds of *lēkam-miṭi* were maintained throughout the Kandyan Period.<sup>122</sup> They were the *kat-hāl lēkam miṭiya* or register of pingo dues already mentioned, which was deposited in the *maha gabaḍāva*; the *disāvē maha lēkam pota* which was a comprehensive register of villages in each *disāvanē* and the departments which they served, which register was kept in the *disava's valavva*, in charge of the *atapattu*; the *hī-lēkam-miṭiya*,<sup>123</sup> a smaller register of ploughed lands which was taken into the field; and finally the several departmental registers such as the *dunukāra lēkam miṭiya*, compiled for the convenience of departmental chiefs in marshalling their labour forces. Besides these state registers, the *nindagam* proprietors had their own *valavva lēkam miṭi*, while the temples had registers of lands belonging to them, e.g., the *māligāva lēkam miṭiya*.

The *lēkam-miṭi* consisted of several strips of palm-leaves on which the requisite data was "scratched" with a pointed stylus—a process which impressed Lacombe who described it as follows:

'Instead of paper they use the Leaves of Palms: for pens they use a little iron Stylus somewhat less long than the hand and pointed at one end, holding it between the fingers, not in the way that we hold a pen or engraving-tool, but by making the two middle fingers cross over and the two others pass

121 *Mitiya*,—pl. *miṭi*—bundle, roll. Thus *lēkam-miṭiya*—Clerical Rolls, or Land Rolls.

122. D'Oyly (1835), 44 says: "4 Lēkam Miṭi or Registers of Persons liable to Rājakāriya service are kept in the Hands of the Chiefs of the Provinces and of many Departments to which they respectively belong."

123. The import of *hī* is not certain. Scholars usually assume that it connotes ploughing, sowing. Mr. Julius de Lanerolle suggests that the word is a corruption of *hīn*, slender, as opposed to the bulky *maha lēkam-miṭiya*, an interpretation which is supported by the fact that all the *lēkam-miṭi* relate to ploughed lands, and a separate *hī-lēkam-miṭiya* is in this sense meaningless.



under. When gripping this stylus, they hold it with their fist without employing the tumb, and so scratch it on the palm-leaf, which they hold with the other hand while scratching, without even need of a table on which to lean. They are so adroit in this fashion of writing, with such quick wits, that I have found myself walking with one of them, discoursing with him, questioning and receiving answers, at the same time as he wrote in this way on a piece of palm-leaf, without his ceasing or interrupting himself deliberately to listen to me or to satisfy my curiosity, and this astonished me not a little, to observe so perfect a mind in a savage, but I have learned since that such a thing is common to nearly all of them.<sup>124</sup>

For the compilation of the Land Rolls, certain officials led by the *maha lēkama*<sup>125</sup> were sent into the district chosen for a cadastral survey and census. Thus in Three Kōraḷēs all the inhabitants were ordered to attend at the royal garden Palangomuvavatta, near Ruvanvālla, and their names were written down in the space of eight days. Then the *maha lēkama*, *mohottālas*, and *kōraḷas* went round the district listing all the fields, which completed they proceeded to write an account of the *kada-rājākāriya* payable per each *pāla*, and these dues were brought into the royal granary (*aṭuva*) when directed.<sup>126</sup> From time to time the *disāva* would check whether any individuals held more land than they were entitled to as service-portions.<sup>127</sup> A hundred years ago, the Temple Lands Commissioners were close enough to the days of the Kandyan kings to obtain from the older people an idea of the precautions taken in making out the registers.

‘The *lēkam miṭi* are said by old Kandyans, who recollect their being written, to have been very carefully made out. Indeed, under the rule of the last Kandyan king, no chief would dare to falsify, in the slightest degree, any document on which the revenue depended. He could scarcely have done so without many being privy to it; and, under a jealous tyrant, who seems to have distrusted everyone, to have encouraged suspicion of each other amongst his chiefs, and to have employed a system of espionage and secret information, he would have certainly been detected had he attempted it, in which case, he would have lost his lands, and possibly his head. In addition to this, the king seems to have taken especial care that the officers entrusted with the formation of these *lēkam miṭi* should not be exposed to the influence of relationship, or connection with the persons whose lands they were registering; and a chief of one district was frequently sent to compile the *lēkam miṭiya* of another.

‘From a knowledge of all these circumstances; from being better able to appreciate the necessity and value of the precautions which were taken against incorrectness than we are, the Kandyans place an implicit confidence in these *olas*, which they certainly do not afford to any of our records.<sup>128</sup>

The *lēkam miṭi* showed the names and extents of the fields in each village usually in the following form :<sup>129</sup>

124. Lacombe (1681).

125. The *maha lēkama* was the chief scribe, and his banner carried at the *Perahāra* procession contained a *lēkam-miṭiya* and stylus. (Bell. 1892).

126. D'Oyly's *Diary*, 3-10-1810.

127. *Ibid.*

128. T.L.C. 1851.

129. Filed in BC, 28-9-1852, (CGA 18/9).

මැදගෙදර විකිරිරාලට කොස්ගහඅරාව දෙපැලයි. එම අයට අස්වැද්දුම පැලයි.

(“To Mādagedera Tikirāla the field named Kosgaha-arāva<sup>130</sup> of 2 *pālas* sowing-extent; to the same owner, the *asvādduma* of one *pāla* extent.”)

The information contained in the Land Rolls was comprehensive. The *Dumbara hī lēkam miṭiya*, (Śaka 1731), for example, enumerates the temple lands in the district (*māligāva*, *vihāra*, and *dēvāla* lands total 171 *amuṇams*, 3 *pālas*), the *gabaḍāgam*, the *lēkam rājākāriya* lands (35 *amuṇams*); the *raṭavasam rājākāriya* lands (87 *amuṇams*);<sup>131</sup> and the *gannile* fields amounting to 45 *amuṇams*, the property of hereditary headmen. A multitude of other service lands are enumerated, including those of the *gamkāra pēruva* or new regiment of the *maḍuva* military corps, the *paṭṭividānas* or cattle-keepers, the *maha ulpāngē* or royal Bath, the *kūṇam maḍuva* or palanquin-bearers, the *koṭṭalbadda* or smiths, the *halu-apullana hēnayā* or washerman, the *baḍahāl-badda* or potters, the *tambōru-purampettu* or drummers and trumpeters, the washers for the *ilaṅgamē pēruva* or troupe of dancers, and finally the *dugganna* lands held by the king's immediate attendants, and the *mudalivasam* lands which were the property of the *mudiyansē* people. Similarly, the *Sabara-gamuva hī-lēkam miṭiya* lists the royal, temple, *vidāna*, and *ninda* villages, as well as the villages named after various service classes, e.g., *gamvasam*, *hēvāvasam*, *haluapullana-gam*, *koḍituvakku-gam*, *dunukāravasam*, and finally the menial *ūliyam paṅgu*.

The dues payable for each land-holding are specified in detail in the *disā-lēkam miṭi*. Thus the *Satara Kōraḷē Maha Lēkam Pota* (Śaka 1669) enumerates the dues in money and salt payable by the roving *Mātālē maḍige* department; the *duraya* of certain *batgam* villages rendered one pingo of rice, and one of cocoanuts; from Kurunagoda 16 *tuṭṭu* was paid by each *vidāna* at the New Year (*avurudda paṇḍuru*), and 30 *salli* each, levied from 6 gardens, brought in 45 *tuṭṭu*, while one garden paid money as well as areca cutters (*girā kāti*). The same register also lists the oil-dues paid at the *kātti maṅgalaya* or Festival of Lights: the *kankāṇams* of Galboḍa Pat-tuva, for instance, sent 2 *nāli* of oil and 7 *ridi*.<sup>132</sup>

130. The term *arāva* means a newly cultivated open field.

131. This service was performed by people resident in the *raṭa* around Kandy. In Kotmalē, for instance, the *raṭavasam* people cleared and kept in order the water courses of Gampola and Nāramvīṭa. But there was a *raṭa āracē vasam* in Uḍapalāta whose service was to carry banners on the king's journey and at the four festivals, and keeping watch at the *disāva's* residence (D'Oyly 1832. 68-69).

132. The numerals are expressed in the Sinhalese *līṭ lakumu* symbols. Many abbreviations are used, e.g., “po” (පො) for *pol* or cocoanuts; “r” (ර) for *ridi*; “hā” (හා) for *hāl* or rice, and so on. Spelling is sometimes incorrect, and words written as pronounced. e.g. මැදගෙ



In disputes about land rights and service-obligations, the chiefs were readily able to decide the merits of a case by reference to the *lĕkam miṭi*. Thus in *Miyanapalave Nayide vs. Dodantelle Basnāyaka Nilamē*,<sup>133</sup> the chiefs said that the field to which the *basnāyaka nilamē* of the Temple of the Tooth and plaintiff in possession both laid claim should be registered in the *hi-lĕkam miṭiya* which would show to what department or estate it belonged, and reference being accordingly made to both the *hi-lĕkam miṭiya* and the *māligāva lĕkam miṭiya*, they stated that it was very clear that a portion of the field belonged to the Māligāva, or rather was held by the plaintiff in possession under that Temple. In another dispute the chiefs, having consulted the Land Rolls, declared: "By the *hi-lĕkam miṭiya* they understand that the field in question is part of the *gamvasam*, which *gamvasam* is a part of the *nindagama* of Kumbalgama; that Plaintiff is the owner of the *gamvasama*, and is liable to do service as a *gammāhē* to the *nindagama* proprietor, while Defendant who possesses the (same) field in question is liable to do agricultural services for Plaintiff who may depute him to do those services for which he himself is liable to the *nindagam* proprietor, and should Defendant refuse to do those services, he would forfeit his right to hold his fields." In other words, the *lĕkam miṭiya* defined the rights and obligations of three persons having interests in the same plot of land—the *gamladda* or *ninda* lord, the *paṃgukārayā* (plaintiff), and defendant, who was apparently a *nilakārayā*.<sup>134</sup>

In the *lĕkam-miṭi* entries, the tendency is for names of villages and fields to be mentioned rather than the names of individual holders, for the *rājakāriya* attached to the land, and any person who was in possession was *prima facie* liable to perform the service mentioned in the register.<sup>135</sup> If he managed to get the service changed by paying a *bulatsurulla* to a chief, the new service would be entered by interlineation, and the *lĕkam miṭiya* thus brought up to date. But where more than one person had interests in the same land, it was common to mention the holders' name. Thus when the *lĕkam miṭiya* of the *maha dēvāle* was examined to decide a dispute, it showed that Erranvapola Hēnayā was liable to pay one *taṃgama* for a *pidavilla paṃguva* or portion dedicated to the temple, but no mention was made of the name of the field. It was decided that the washerman had a *pravēni* right to the land in question subject to the service of washing for the twelve original blacksmith families in the village, and these blacksmiths were to pay half the tithe (i.e., 2 *salli*) in consideration of the service they enjoyed.<sup>136</sup> When

133. BJC, 1-8-1829, (CGA. 23/25. Pt. I).

134. *Kumbulgama Gamage Appu vs. Ambepussela Hapoowe*, BJC, 31-8-1831 (CGA 23/27).

135. The personal names and place names were sometimes the same.

136. *Errauvapola Henegedera Kiria vs. Palawatte Tikiri Nayide*, BJC 22-2-1826, (CGA 23/17).

more information was required to judge the merits of a case, the chief appealed to would send *payiṇḍakārayās* to make inquiries on the spot from neighbours who had knowledge of the facts of the case.<sup>137</sup>

137. BJC, 8-9-1817, (CGA 23/3).



## V

## WAGES AND RENT

THE system of service-tenures practically eliminated the payment of wages to state officials who held land in consideration of *rā-jakāriya*. The king did however maintain various paid labourers (*paḍikārayō*). The stipendiary companies of the army were in charge of a *paḍikāra nilamē*. Some of the civilian *paḍikārayō* were remunerated partly in cash, partly in grain, e.g., the people of the *gaba-dāvas* and of the Pēradeṇiya royal gardens. The high priests of Malvatta Vihāra received from the royal granaries three measures of rice per diem, ten principal priests were allowed two measures, while the other monks were given one and a half measures and currysuffs.<sup>138</sup> The Temple of the Tooth (*daḷadā māligava*) also had a few paid employees, e.g., the *ālatiammās*.

In the case of private estates of chiefs and nobles, the employment of wage-labour was practically unheard of. These proprietors were unwilling to lease their lands to *aṇḍakārayas* to be cultivated on the customary basis of a half-share of the produce, for a certain idea of ignominy attached to such an arrangement, and implied "a degree of poverty in that particular kind of possession of which the people are most fond, viz. followers and dependents."<sup>139</sup> But although most households had some proprietary interest in land, "yet all have not watered Land enough for their needs, that is, such Land as good Rice requires to grow in ; so that such are fain to sow on dry Land, and Till other mens Fields for a subsistence."<sup>140</sup> Such men were obliged to till the lands of others on an *aṇḍa* or *otu* basis.

In the royal villages (*gabadāgam*), the large private estates (*ninda-gam*), and temple villages, the best land was retained as the *mutteṭṭu* to be cultivated by the tenants, the less fertile was given out in *aṇḍē*, while the least productive land for which there was little competition was given out on an *otu* basis. In the *aṇḍē* system, the wages of the cultivator (*aṇḍakārayā*) was one-half of the produce, the other half-share being the rent of the proprietor (*gamkārayā*), the latter providing the cultivator with buffaloes and germinated

seed-paddy.<sup>141</sup> *Karu-aṇḍē* was the quarter of the crop, i.e., the half divided between two joint-cultivators. Sometimes the *gamkāraya*'s share was one-third, *tunen-aṇḍē*.

According to Wright, the difference between *aṇḍa* and *otu* lands in Sabaragamuva was that in the former the *gamkāraya* supplied the seed, while the latter were cultivated entirely at the cultivator's expense.<sup>142</sup> D'Oyly differentiates three types of *otu* tenure :

- (a) A portion of the crop equal to the extent sown, or to one-and-a-half or double the extent sown in some paddy fields and *hēn*. It was the usual share paid to the proprietor of barren fields or those which were difficult of protection from wild animals, particularly in Seven Kōraḷēs, Sabaragamuva, Hēvāhāṭa, and some *hēn* in Hārispattuva. In many royal villages in Seven Kōraḷēs there were lands paying *otu* to the crown, and were probably those left over after the allotment of service-holdings.
- (b) The share of one-third paid from a field of tolerable fertility, from a good *hēna* sown with hill-paddy.
- (c) The share which the proprietor of a *hēna* sown by another with fine grains cuts first from the ripe crop, being one large basket-full, or a man's burden.<sup>143</sup>

141. SSS states that the parties should sow together ; it is the *aṇḍakārayā*'s duty to plough, water, watch, reap and stack the sheafs. The parties join to take the sheafs to the threshing-floor and thresh together. The chaff and straw go to the *aṇḍakārayā*. The *gamkārayā* provides meals for all workers on sowing-day, on the day the corn is removed to the threshing-floor, and on threshing day. A *gamkārayā* who has no buffaloes should repair the ridges (*niyara*) of the field, or pay as much as has been sown as yoke-hire (*viya-kuliya*). A field of one *pāṭa* generally produces 3 to 5 *amuṇams*, 4 being the average (BJC, 4-9-1817, CGA 23/3).

142. Wright (1818).

143. D'Oyly (1835), 55.

138. BC, 25-6-1818, (CGA, A/6B).

139. Wright, PRO. CO 416/20 ; Turnour (1818).

140. Knox (1681), 69.



## VI

### UNIFICATION AND ALLEGIANCE

THE functional and regional devolution of public administration in the Kandyan Kingdom might seem at first sight to have been incompatible with a tradition of strong central government. But the kingdom was in fact "united under one canopy," the crown being the symbol of that unification. The several national festivals, besides fostering the attachment of the people to their national religion, served also to stimulate political allegiance by means of pomp and pageantry. At the Āsala Perahāra, for instance, the governors of the various *disāvanēs* and *raṭa*, accompanied by their retainers, appeared in the capital at the same time, and participated in a spectacular festival and procession lasting several days and nights. The four great festivals, celebrated annually at the capital, tended to enhance national unity and political allegiance. They were, the New Year Festival (*avurudda maṅgalla*), the *Perahāra*, the *Kātti maṅgalla*, and the *alut-sāl maṅgalla*. (cf. Appendix II). The payment of dues to the King by the chiefs and people was also accomplished in an atmosphere of ritual and pageantry. According to Knox, the people came with their dues three times a year, after each harvest; the *alut-sāl maṅgalla* or Festival of New Rice, was celebrated soon after the *maha* or Great harvest; the *kātti maṅgalla* celebrated in *Il māse* (November) corresponded to the *yala* harvest, and the New Year dues were presumably paid after the *māda* or "middle" harvest. But there was no uniformity in practice, for the harvests varied in different districts.<sup>144</sup>

144. cf. Codrington (1938), 36.

## APPENDIX I

### ACCOUNT OF ANNUAL EMOLUMENT RECEIVED BY THE DISAVE OF SABARAGAMUVA ON ACCOUNT OF DAKUMA AND BULATSURULLU & ca. BY H. WRIGHT, GOVERNMENT AGENT\*

#### NOTE

After the Rebellion of 1818 against the British Government, it was decided that Sabaragamuva "so long noted for its contumacy and disobedience to the established government, whether British or Kandyan," should be divided into three sections, each governed by a separate chief. In order to calculate the stipends of the new chiefs, this statement of accounts was made by Herbert Wright Esq., Agent of Government, Ratnapura, "after a minute inquiry and investigation into the native records which relate to the emoluments of the person holding the office of *disāve* over the whole province." As a result of this inquiry, a monthly salary of one hundred rix-dollars was proposed for each of the three new chiefs of Sabaragamuva. But since the chiefs did not consider this a sufficient allowance, and looked with jealous eyes at reformation, "various hints ... have dropped at various times from them in the course of conversation purposely introduced, in stating their expenses, the number of followers they have to maintain and the unlimited perquisites they enjoyed in the exactions, fees, fines and forfeitures as well in an underhand way as by the acknowledged customs of the country, but too numerous and refined to be reduced to a regular account, the increased rate at which the inferior situations were disposed of within the last thirty or forty years... offices rated at 500 *ridis* each were actually disposed of for 1,500 or 2,000 of late years, and others in proportion."\*\* Indeed, there was considerable inflation in prices of these inferior stations as a result of preparations for War with the British, and D'Oyly in his *Diary* (December 20th 1811) recorded the prices for offices in the Pahala Dolos Pattu, Seven Kōraḷēs for that year, as follows:

Raṭē lēkam—Navinne Mohoṭṭāla	3,500 <i>ridi</i>
Atapattu lēkam—Hurukgomuve Mohoṭṭāla	2,500 <i>ridi</i>
Koḍituvakku lēkam	2,000 <i>ridi</i>
Valavva lēkam	1,500 <i>ridi</i>

Wright's account does however enable us to form a rough idea of the financial side of the administration in late Kandyan times.

\* CGA. A—551.

\*\* Wright's Minutes of September and October 1818 (*ibid*).



	<i>Ridi</i>
Disāvane Mohottale for appointment	500
Disāvane Mohottale for annual <i>dākum</i>	25
Atapattu Nilame for appointment	500
Atapattu Nilame for annual <i>dākum</i>	25
Atapattu Nilame for presents	10
Atapattu Nilame for matras	25
Atapattu Nilame for 1 bottle of gunpowder	3
Atapattu Nilame for one sword (silver) value	50
Atapattu Nilame for two silver waist strings	60
Atapattu Nilame for four cristal arm rings	24
Atapattu Nilame for five iron chunan boxes wrought with silver	150
Atapattu Nilame for five chunan boxes called kavisgaru killati	
Atapattu Nilame for five guns	120
Atapattu Nilame for five billhooks	10
Atapattu Nilame for five axes	5
Atapattu Nilame for mamoties	15
Atapattu Nilame for five chopping knives	10
Atapattu Nilame for five sickles	14
Atapattu Nilame as headman of <i>hiragē</i> or prison	5
Kodituvakku Nilame for appointment	500
Kodituvakku Nilame for annual <i>dākum</i>	25
Kodituvakku Nilame for present	5
Kodituvakku Nilame for matras	25
Kodituvakku Nilame for one bottle gunpowder	3
Kodituvakku Nilame for three guns	72
Kodituvakku Nilame for one silver sword	50
Kodituvakku Nilame for five billhooks	10
Kodituvakku Nilame for five axes	5
Kodituvakku Nilame for five mamoties	15
Kodituvakku Nilame for five chopping knives	10
Kodituvakku Nilame for five sickles	14
Kodituvakku Nilame as head of <i>hiragē</i>	5
Maha Basnaike Nilame of Sabaragamuva Temple for appointment	500
Maha Basnaike Nilame for annual <i>dākum</i>	50
Maha Basnaike Nilame for present	10
Maha Basnaike Nilame for matras	25
Maha Basnaike Nilame for one bottle gunpowder	3
Maha Basnaike Nilame for one silver sword	50
Maha Basnaike Nilame for four cristal arm rings	24
Maha Basnaike Nilame for two silver waist strings	60
Maha Basnaike Nilame for five iron chunan boxes wrought with silver	150
Maha Basnaike Nilame for five kavisgaru chunan boxes	
Maha Basnaike Nilame for five guns	120
Maha Basnaike Nilame for five billhooks	10
Maha Basnaike Nilame for five axes	5
Maha Basnaike Nilame for five mamoties	15
Maha Basnaike Nilame for five chopping knives	10
Maha Basnaike Nilame for five sickles	14
Basnaike Nilame of Alutnuvara Temple for appointment	300
Basnaike Nilame for annual <i>dākum</i>	25
Basnaike Nilame for presents	10
Basnaike Nilame for matras	25
Basnaike Nilame for one bottle of gunpowder	3
Basnaike of Bottumbuve Temple for appointment	50
Basnaike of Bottumbuve Temple for annual <i>dākum</i>	5

	<i>Ridi</i>
Basnaike of Bottumbuve Temple for presents	5
Office of Mailapperu Nely of the above Temple	11
Basnaike Nilame of Ammadu <i>Dēvāla</i> for appointment	25
Basnaike Nilame of Ammadu <i>Dēvāla</i> for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Basnaike Nilame of Ammadu <i>Dēvāla</i> for presents	5
Office of Mudannake Nelay of Sabaragamuva Temple	50
Office of Mudannake Nely of Sabaragamuva Temple annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Office of Mudannake Nely of Sabaragamuva Temple present	5
Office of Hangomuva Mohottā Nilamē	30
Office of Hangomuva Mohottā Nilamē annual <i>dākum</i>	10
Office of Hangomuva Mohottā Nilamē present	50
Gabada Mohottā Niley for appointment	15
Gabada Mohottā Niley for <i>dākum</i>	5
Gabada Mohottā Niley present	2½
Wannaku Niley for appointment	11
Wannaku Niley for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Wannaku Niley for present	2½
Vidān of Hunovalla for appointment	50
Vidān of Hunovalla for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Hunovalla for present	5
Vidān of Talawettigey for appointment	11
Vidān of Talawettigey for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Talawettigey for present	2½
Vidān of Kuruvitte Gampaha for appointment	6
Vidān of Kuruvitte Gampaha for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Kuruvitte Gampaha for present	2½
Vidān of Kolombogama for appointment	6
Vidān of Kolombogama for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Kolombogama for present	2½
Vidān of Egodegampaha for appointment	6
Vidān of Egodegampaha for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Egodegampaha for present	2½
Vidān of Gantunē for appointment	6
Vidān of Gantunē for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Gantunē for present	2½
Nine kankānams and lēkams of temple village @ 2½ ridis each when they appear before the <i>disāva</i> at Kandy	22½
Office of Atapattu Mohottale of the temple at Alutnuvara for appointment	11
Office of Atapattu Mohottale of the temple at Alutnuvara annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Office of Atapattu Mohottale of the temple at Alutnuvara present	2½
Office of Attenaike Mohottā for appointment	11
Office of Attenaike Mohottā for annual <i>dākum</i>	5
Office of Attenaike Mohottā for present	2½
Vidān of Denawaka for appointment	100
Vidān of Denawaka for annua <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Denawaka for present	5
Lēkam of Denawaka	20
Lēkam of Denawaka for present	2½
Eight gammans	107½
Vidan of Opanaka for appointment	25
Vidan of Opanaka for <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidan of Opanaka for present	5
Lēkam of the above village	5
Vidān of Yakewala for appointment	100
Vidān of Yakewala for <i>dākum</i>	5



	<i>Ridi</i>
Vidān of Yakewala for present	5
Lēkam dasdegam and Karea wasam for appointment	36
Maha Nadapu	344½
Panan Nadapu	47
Vidān of Balangoda	50
Vidān of Balangoda for <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Balangoda for present	5
Lēkam of the above village	6
Vidān of Kandangomuve for appointment	100
Vidān of Kandangomuve for <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of Kandangomuve for present	5
Four Liyanna Durayā	24
Vidān of Batugedera	25
Vidān of Batugedera for present	5
Vidān of Gilimale for appointment	11
Vidān of Gilimale for present	2½
Vidān of Bambarabotuve for appointment	11
Vidān of Bambarabotuve for present	2½
Vidān of Enatne	11
Vidān of Enatne for present	2½
Vidān of Giroeri Kirye	6
Vidān of Meddikande	11
Vidān of Meddikande for present	2½
Vidān of four wood-cutters villages	60
Vidān of four wood-cutters <i>dākum</i>	5
Vidān of four wood-cutters present	5
Vidān of Kosgoda inhabited by pannayās	11
Vidān of the gravet of Kuruwatte	6
Vidān of the gravet of Gattahatta	11
Hēwa durayā	6
Kōrāla of Kadawatte Kōrālē for appointment	150
Kōrāla of Kadawatte Kōrālē for <i>dākum</i>	25
Kōrāla of Kadawatte Kōrālē for matrass	25
Kōrāla of Kadawatte Kōrālē for present	10
Kōrāla of Dawatte Kōrālē for <i>hiragē</i>	25
Kōrāla of Dawatte Kōrālē for one bottle of gunpowder	3
Kōrālē of Meda Kōrālē	300
Kōrāla of Meda Kōrālē for <i>dākum</i>	30
Kōrāla of Meda Kōrālē for present	10
Kōrāla of Meda Kōrālē for matrass	25
Kōrāla of Meda Kōrālē for <i>hiragē</i>	25
Kōrāla of Meda Kōrālē for one bottle of gunpowder	3
Vidān of Bulatgama	20
Vidān of Muligama	25
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē	300
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for <i>dākum</i>	50
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for present	10
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for matrass	25
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for <i>hiragē</i>	60
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for one bottle of gunpowder	3
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for four guns	96
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for billhooks	10
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for five axes	5
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for five mamoties	15
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for five chopping knives	10
Kōrāla of Attakalam Kōrālē for five sickles	1½
Vidān of Galpage	50
Vidān of Meyangamme	50
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē	300

	<i>Ridi</i>
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē for <i>dākum</i>	50
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē for present	10
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē for matrass	20
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē for <i>hiragē</i>	25
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē for one bottle of gunpowder	3
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē for four guns	96
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē for five billhooks	10
Kōrālē of Kolana Kōrālē for five sickles	1½
Kōrālē of Kukulū Kōrālē	50
Kōrālē of Kukulū Kōrālē for <i>dākum</i>	15
Kōrālē of Kukulū Kōrālē for present	10
Kōrālē of Navadun Kōrālē	30
Kōrālē of Navadun Kōrālē for <i>dākum</i>	15
Kōrālē of Navadun Kōrālē for present	10
Kōrālē of Kuruwitte Kōrālē	100
Kōrālē of Kuruvitte Kōrālē for <i>dākum</i>	25
Kōrālē of Kuruvitte Kōrālē for present	10
Kōrālē of Kuruvitte Kōrālē for <i>hiragē</i>	25
Kōrāla of Kuruvitte Kōrālē for matrass	25
Kōrāla of Kuruvitte Kōrālē for one bottle of gunpowder	3
Vidān of Udapattu	30
Vidān of Pallepattu	25
Vidān of Mada pattu	50
Muhandiram of Kadawatte Kōrālē	6
Lēkam of Kadawatte Kōrālē	6
Hateri liage durayā	6
Two Muhandirams of Mada Kōrālē	12
Lēkam and Hatbuge Durayā	6
Two Muhandirams of Attekulankōrālē	12
Lēkam	6
Two Muhandirams of Kukulū Kōrālē	12
Lēkam	6
Atukōrāla of Navadun Kōrālē	6
Vidān of Mandalagama and Pattalgama	11
Nayide of Pattale	6
Vidān of Kudawe village to furnish white jaggery	6
Dues called <i>kat</i> and <i>bulatsurullu</i> payable to the <i>dīsāva</i> from the seven divisions as well as from the above said <i>vidāna's</i> village on the occasion of Perahāra festival and in the month of November or Il māse :	1,500
From Embilipittigamdekke being the dues called <i>muraridī</i> and <i>perahāra dāda</i> &c.	500
Forty two lance sticks from the 14 stick painters	7½
Seventy nine blades or points of lances from the blacksmith of kottalbadde	15
Fifty nine arecanut cutters	7½
Four addices	3
One axe	1
One silver chunam box from the vidan of silversmiths	2
Six presents worth 1 ridi each from the 6 silversmiths	6
Nine rings set with stones from the rest of the silversmiths	4½
Six Tadupu cloths, 30 cubits each from the weavers or beravabadda	6½
Six diakalchies cloth	1½
One white grattu cloth	6
Five guns from the 5 ninda villages in Attukalam Kōrālē payable from the villages	120



	<i>Ridi</i>
Gilimale, being the village which furnished betel leaves to royal store on account of the dues, viz. <i>atumudal</i> rice and jagery	28½
One iron crow 5 spans long	5
Two chopping knives	4
Thirty pingos of jagery at 4 <i>pattas</i> per pingo	7½
Eight bags of rice	60
Two pingos of cocoanuts } to be furnished from the	15
Two pots of oil } 7 <i>vidāna</i> villages every month	26
	1,212
Six betel nuts villages each paying 4000 leaves per month at one pice per 86 leaves per annum	30½
Total ridis	13,392*

ACCOUNT OF THE ANNUAL TRIBUTE PAYABLE BY THE DISAVE  
OF SABARAGAMUVA TO THE KANDYAN GOVERNMENT

	<i>Ridi</i>
1. To mahagabādāva II maha kat and Perahāra or Religious Offering at November and the Festival	557
2. To <i>maha arumudala</i> : <i>dākuma</i> or Treasury Stipend	1,475
3. To <i>uḷagabādāva</i> or Royal Store of household utensils	38½
4. To <i>aspanṭia</i> at 20½ ridis per month	246
5. To <i>ḷangam maḍuva</i> or Dancing Halls of the palace at 12½ ridis per month	150
6. <i>Vāhala ḷangama</i> or Dancing Room at the Palace at 16½ ridis per month	198½
One hundred and fifty <i>dākum kat</i> or presents at the New Year, each <i>kada</i> consisting of 3 measures of rice and 3 cocoanuts	168½
Sixty measures of lamp oil to the horse and Elephant <i>pantiyes</i> or stables in months of July and November at 4 pice per measure	15
The First <i>Dākum Kaṭṭuva</i> or Present consists of	
One kuttuseri tupotty cloth	150
One kasamo tupotty cloth	60
One suruttu tupotty cloth	15
One tarappody sarasa tupotty cloth	9
One killakara tupotty cloth	9
One anacutchy tupotty cloth	9
The Second <i>Dākum Kaṭṭuva</i> consisting of	
One kasana topetty cloth	30
One suruttu topetty cloth	15
One gurnengy topetty cloth	9
One gopola topetty cloth	9
One anacutchy topetty cloth	9
The Third <i>Dākum Kaṭṭuva</i> to the Buddha Temple Daḷadā Māligāva consisting of	
One log of sandalwood	6
One silver flower	30
Fifteen rubies	90
Ten pagodas	120

\* The total given in the Mss. is 10,683

	<i>Ridi</i>
From the village called Gillemalle and Bambara :	
From Bottuva <i>dākuma</i>	125
From Kandangomuve <i>dākuma</i>	100
Total ridis	3,643½*
Total receipts of the <i>disāve</i>	13,392
Deduct total expenditure	3,643½
Balance	9,748½**

\* The Mss. gives 1574.

\*\* The Mss. gives 7109, which sum was calculated at the rate of 18 *pice* per *ridi*, making in *rix-dollars* 2665-10-2.



## APPENDIX II

## THE FOUR FESTIVALS

## (a) Knox on New Year Ceremonies\*

To speak a little of the first time, viz. at the beginning of the New year, when the King's Duties are brought to him. Their New year is always either on the 27th, or the 28th, or the 29th of March : At this time upon a special and good day (for which the Astrologers are consulted) the King washes his head, which is a very great Solemnity among them. The Palace is adorned with *Toranas*, a sort of Triumphal Arches, that makes a very fine show. They are high Poles standing in rows before all the Gates of the Palace, either nine or seven in a row, the middlemost being the highest, and so they fall lower and lower on each side. Thro the middle of them there is an arched passage which serves for a Door. On the top of the Poles are Flags flying, and all about hung full of painted Cloth with Images and Figures of Men, and Beasts, and Birds, and Flowers : Fruits also are hanged up in great order and exactness. On each side of the entrance of the Arch stand Plantane Trees, with bunches of Plantanes on them as if they were growing.

There are also in some places single Poles of an exceeding height standing by, with long Penons of divers colours flying, and a Bell at the end of each, as in the Figure B. And now they say, The Palace is adorned beyond Heaven.

All the Army is summoned in to stand and wait at this Palace, for the greater State. In the mean time he goes to his Washing-houses, houses built on purpose for him to wash in, called *Ulpāngē*, here are Baths, and Streams and Conveyances of Water, and Many Servants, whose Office it is to wait upon the business of these houses. Here he washes his head. Which when he has done, he comes forth into Public view, where all his Militia stand in their Arms. Then the great Guns are fired. Now all the great Men, the Nobles and the Governors of the Country make their appearance before him with their *Dākum*, their New-years Gifts, which are due and accustomed Presents, for Persons in their Places and Offices to give. There is a certain Rate for it. Their manner of bringing these Gifts or rather Duties is thus. Their Servants thing, which they think the King will accept, that also they take then at their hands, put them upon their heads, and so come in humble manner, and lay them at the King's feet. These Presents are Gold, Jewels, Plate, Arms, Knives, Cloth, each one by a rate according to the Place he is in, and the Countrey he hath under him : And most of them are to present a Sum of Money besides. And if they can procure any precious, Stone or Rarity, or any other thing, which they think the King will accept, that also they bring, and glad they are to be honoured with the favour of his acceptance.

\* Knox (1681), 75-76.

## (b) Account of The Kandy Asela Perahāra by The Disave of Vellassa\*

*Perahāra* (properly called *āsala keliya*) is a very ancient ceremony in commemoration of the birth of the god Vishnu, beginning on the day that the god was born, viz., the day of the new moon in the month of July (*āsela*). In some sacred books this ceremony is said to be in remembrance of Vishnu's victory over the *asuras*, or enemies of the gods.

The ceremony of the *perahāra* is thus begun—The people belonging, to the four principal *dēvāles* go to a young jak tree not yet in fruit, the stalk of which is three spans in circumference. They clear the ground round the tree and consecrate it by fumigating it with the smoke of burning resin, smearing it with a preparation of sandal, made on purpose, and further by an offering of a lighted lamp with nine wicks, which is put at the foot of the tree, and of nine betel leaves and nine different kinds of flowers arranged on a chair. This being done, the wood-cutter of the *maha dēvāle*, dressed in a clean cloth an purified by washing and rubbing himself with lemon juice, with and axe fells the tree at its root, and cuts the trunk transversely into four pieces of equal length, to be divided among the four *dēvāles*. The lowest piece is the property of the *nāta dēvāla*, the next of the *maha dēvāla*, and the next of the *kataragam dēvāla*, and the top piece is the property of the *pattini dēvāla*.

Each log is carried to its respective *dēvāle*, accompanied by the beating of tom-toms. On the day of the new moon of the month of *āsala* each piece is fixed into the ground, in a particular spot in the *dēvāla* ; a roof is erected over it, it is covered with cloths to keep it concealed, and (it is) decorated all round with white olas, fruits, and flowers, &c. Thus prepared and situated, the logs are called '*kapa*' which signifies pillars.

Till the fourth day from that on which the pillars were fixed, the *kapurālas* carry round the *kapa*, morning and evening, the bow and arrows of the gods to whom their temples are consecrated. On this occasion tom-toms are beaten and canopies, flags, talipats, umbrellas, fans, &c. are displayed. The bow and arrow are called the god, and carrying them round the *kapa* is called carrying the god. On the fifth day of *perahāra* the *kapurāla* brings the bow and arrow to the gate in the street, and places them in the *ranhiliḡē*, on the back of an elephant. The elephants of the four *dēvālas*, thus bearing the bows and arrows of the four gods, are led to the *maluwa*, which is situated between the *maha* and *nāta dēvālas* where the chiefs and people assemble.

At the same time, the Budhu priests of the *māligāva* bring to the gate of their temple the *dhātukaraṇḍuwa* (the shrine containing the relic of Budhu), and place it in the *ranhiliḡē*, on the back of an elephant, who remains at the gate. In the meantime the procession moves from the gate of the *māligāva*, where the relic of the Budhu is waiting.

The procession is as follows :

1. The king's elephants with *gajanaike nilamē*.
2. Gingals with *koḍituvakku lēkam*.
3. The people of the Four Kōraḷēs *disāvanē*, carrying gingals, muskets, and flags, with the *disāva* and petty chiefs of that *disāvanē*.
4. The people of the Seven Kōraḷēs.
5. Those of Ūva
6. Of Mātālē
7. Of Sabaragamuwa
8. Valapana
9. Of Uḍapalāta

} All appointed and attended like the people of the Four Kōraḷēs.

\* August 19th., 1817. in the Ceylon Government Gazette, September 13th., 1817.



10. The bamboos or images representing devils covered with cloths.
11. The elephant of the *māligāva* bearing the shrine, followed by other elephants and the people of the *māligāva*, who precede the *diyavaḍana nilamē* and *nānayaḍakkāra lēkam* with umbrellas, talipats, flags, fans, shields, tom-toms, drums, flutes, &c., accompanied by dancers.
12. The elephant of the *nāta dēvāla* bearing the bow and arrow of the god, attended by the women of the temple, and followed by the *basnāyaka nilamē*, with the same pomp of attendants as the former.
13. The elephants, bows and arrows, and people of the *maha vishnu dēvāla*.
14. Of the *kataragām dēvāla*.
15. Of the *pattini dēvāla*.
16. The people of the *maha lēkam* department, carrying muskets and flags, and preceding their chiefs.
17. The people of the *atapattu* department, similarly equipped, followed by the *atapattu lēkam*, and the *raṭmahatmayas* of Uḍunuvara, Yaṭinuvara, Tumpanē, Hārispattu, Dumbara and Hevāhāṭa.
18. The people of *Vedikkāra* department, followed by their *lēkam*.
19. The people of the *vaḍanatuvaḍḍu* department with their *lēkam*.
20. The people of the *paḍikkāra* department and their *lekams*.

The ceremonies just described are performed during five days, commencing on the sixth (day) of the *perahāra*, and they are performed in the four principal streets in the evening, and at the seventh hour of the night; but in the nocturnal procession the shrine is not introduced.

Indeed, till the reign of King Kīrti Śrī the shrine never appeared. On the occasion of the presence of some Siamese priests this King ordered the shrine to form a part of the evening *perahāra*, assigning as a reason that, with this innovation, the ceremony would be in honour of Budhu as well as of the gods.

In the course of the five days mentioned, precedence is to be taken by turns by the different parties who attend the procession.

The five days having expired, another ceremony, an important and essential part of the *perahāra*, commences, called '*randolis beyma*,' which lasts five days more. It commences with bringing from the *dēvāles* the *randolis* or palanquins, four in number, each dedicated to a particular goddess, and each furnished with a golden pitcher and sword similarly dedicated. These palanquins form a part of the evening procession, and then carried by the people, after the bows and arrows; but in the procession at night they take the lead: the women belonging to the *dēvāles*, who attended the first part of the ceremony, attend this also, to which every other honour is due and is paid. In the king's time the daughters and young wives of the chiefs, dressed in royal apparel given them by His Majesty, alternately accompanied the *randoli* of each goddess.

From the commencement of this ceremony, the castes of washers and potters, including both sexes, attended, the men of the former carrying painted sticks under their arms, and of the latter earthen vessels adorned with cocoanut flowers. The *oli* people of the five principal divisions carry five large bamboos in attendance during the whole of this ceremony.

Thus the ceremony of *perahāra* is continued up to the day of the full moon of the *āsala*. On the night of the full moon, and on this alone, the shrine is carried in the procession.

As soon as the procession is over, the shrine is deposited in the temple, Asgiri vihara, and the *randolies* and bows and arrows are brought back to their respective *dēvāles*. Soon after, boiled rice, curries, cakes, &c., are offered in the *dēvālas* to the images of the gods. The offerings being made, (the) procession recommences, and proceeds to the river at Gātembe or Gonoruva, bearing the bows and arrows and *randolies*.

At the river a decorated boat is found in readiness, in which the four *kapurālas* of the *dēvāles*, attended by four other men belonging to the same establishment, go some distance up the river, carrying with them swords and water pitchers of the goddesses, and at the break of the day the *kapurālas* suddenly strike the water with the swords; the othermen at the same moment of time, discharging the water that had been taken up last year, fill the pitchers afresh in the exact place where the swords had been applied.

This being done, they land, and having placed the water pitchers and swords in the *randolies*, they return with the procession to the city. The morning of their return is the sixteenth day after the commencement of the *Perahāra*. The two *adhikāramas* and the chiefs who may not have accompanied the ceremony to the river, meet it on the road, when returning at a place called Kumāra Kapuva, and accompany it to Asgiri vihāra, from when the shrine being taken, the whole procession moves to the place from which it started at first, viz., the *maluwa* each party returns to its respective *dēvāla*, the shrine is carried back to the *māligāva*, and the ceremony is at an end.

During the five days that the *randolie* ceremony is performing, the *kapurālas* of the four *dēvālas*, the evening procession being concluded, come to the *magul maḍuwa*, and recite the *maṅgalla āsta*; a hymn of thanks and praise to the gods, and they offer up prayers that the reigning king may be blessed and prosper. Then they return to their *dēvālas* with garlands of flowers from the *magul maḍuwa*, with which they adore the images of the gods. . .

During the seven days after the ceremony of beating the water, the *Valli-yakun* is danced in the four *dēvāles* by people belonging to the caste of tom-tom beaters. The dancers are masked, and they dance to the sound of tom-toms.

This dance being finished, the people of the *balibat* caste dance during seven days more round heaps of boiled rice, vegetables, curries, cakes, fruits, &c., which they eat after the dance; at the end of fourteen days, the dancing being over, the *Kapa* fixed in the *dēvālas*, as already described, are taken up, carried to the river, with tom-toms and flags, and thrown into the water; on the day the water is struck with swords, four bundles of fine cloth, with gold and silver coins, and pieces of sandalwood, are given by the Treasury to the *dēvālas*.

Under the former government the king accompanied the *perahāra*, the ceremonies were performed with unusual splendour, and the processions were far more magnificent than they are here described. In case of any impurity appearing near the *dēvāles*, the performance of the ceremonies was intermitted during the space of three days.

The whole of this festival was ended on the 31st, at 11 o'clock in the morning. The commencement of the concluding procession was announced by the firing of gings, a loud noise of tom-toms and kandyen pipes, accompanied by the cracking of the *Adikar's* whips; eight fine elephants first appeared, one after the other, then came the



relic of Buddhu, which was carried under a small gold vessel called *rankhivige*, covered by an elegant gilt canopy on the back of a noble elephant, most superbly caparisoned, his head and back covered over with crimson cloth embroidered with gold, and his tusks cased in gold; he was supported on each side by two elephants richly adorned with brocade housings, their riders on their necks and other attendants on their backs, bearing silver fans and umbrellas. The great elephant in the centre carried nothing but the canopy or gilt open pavilion covering the *rankhivige*, which contained the relic. The Second *Adikar*, as *divi nilamē*, marched after the relic, preceded by his whips and followed by a vast crowd of attendants, a party of whom was armed with spears; five elephants of the *nāta dēvāle* next followed, the one in the middle carrying the bow and arrows of the god, which were succeeded by a long procession consisting of numerous elephants belonging to the different *dēvālas*, bearing the symbols of their gods, *disāvas* with numerous attendants, standard bearers, tom-tom beaters, pipers, &c. This part of the procession was interspersed with groups of dancers and huge figures intended to represent demons. They were followed by the whip bearers of the First *Adikar*, who marched attended by three chiefs on his left, and followed by a great body of guards and retinue. Then came the closed palanquins supposed to contain the goddesses of the *dēvālas*, each attended by a number of well dressed females with their heads tastefully ornamented with flowers.

Daily, for an hour or more before the procession commences, the tightrope dancers and other performers of different descriptions assembled in the great square before the maha vishnu and nata *dēvālas*, immediately under the window of the part of the palace from which the king of Kandy was accustomed to view such ceremonies. . . . .

The rope-dancers were two females, who, considering that they did not use the balancing pole, moved with no small degree of ease and grace, and one of them, shewed her activity by springing from the rope many times in rapid succession to a height not less than six or eight feet. A group of young men and boys in the attire of dancing girls, having their arms and legs covered with small bells, displayed with effect their talents, while another party with little of the 'foreign aid of ornament,' performed a very regular dance, brandishing all the while and at each other a couple of short sticks which they held by the middle, one in each hand: the effect of this was much improved by the sticks having a tassel of white flax at each end. But of all the dancers, perhaps none were more worthy of notice than two athletic champions armed with foils and bossy shields, who performed a war dance. Their merit lay in an extraordinary and not ungraceful activity of limbs, and flexibility of wrist, more than in any display of the science of attack and defence.

Immediately after the relic of Buddhu and the symbols of the gods had been deposited in their respective sanctuaries, all the chiefs who had borne a part of the *Perāhāra*, repaired to the Hall of Audience to pay their respects to His Excellency the Governor,\* and to report the successful termination and happy omens of the great festival.

\* This of course refers to the 1817 *perahāra*, after the British occupation.

(c) *Davy on Kātti-maṅgalla and Alut-sal-maṅgalla*

The third annual festival,—the *Kātti-maṅgalla*, "the feast of the fortunate hour," or "the feast of lamps,"—was celebrated in the month of November, on the day preceding the full moon. The fortunate hour for lighting lamps was previously determined and laid down by the royal astrologers in *nākat-vaṭṭōru*. In the morning of the day appointed, lamps and oil were brought from the royal store to the *Nāta-dēvāle*, where the chiefs being assembled, and the *Kapurālas* of the four principal *dēvāles*, the latter sung the *maṅgalla-asta*, a hymn of thanks and praise to the gods, and offered up prayers for the prosperity of the kingdom. They then distributed, with great ceremony, *Nākat-vaṭṭōru*, with oil, to all the principal temples.

In the evening, at the fortunate hour pointed out, the great square decorated with arches, and the palace, the temple, the *dēvāles*, and the four principal streets, were completely and brilliantly illuminated. During the night, the relic of Buddhu and the images of the gods were carried in procession through the city on elephants, with nearly the same attendance, and the same honours, that were paid to them during the first part of the *Perahāra*.

The *Alut-sāl-maṅgalla*, the feast of new rice, the fourth and last of the great annual festivals, was observed in the month of January, when the moon was on the increase. A *nākat-vaṭṭōru* was previously prepared by the astrologers, in which the fortunate hour, on two different days, was pointed out; one for bringing the new rice into the city, and the other for dressing and eating it. This document was sent to the king with the usual honours, and copies of it were carried by the chiefs to the royal farms in the neighbourhood. At this farms the ears of paddy and the new rice were packed up for the temples and the palace, and the king's stores, by the *Gabaḍā-nīlamēs* and their officers. The ears of paddy, carefully put into new earthen pots, and the grain into clean white bags, were attached to pingos for the sake of more convenient carriage. Those intended for the *māligāva* were conveyed on an elephant; those for the *dēvāles* were borne by men marching under canopies of white cloth; and those for the palace and royal stores were carried by the people of the king's villages, of respectable caste and well dressed, with a piece of white tape over their mouths, to guard against impurity. They started from the different farms under a salute of jingals; were attended by tom-toms, flags, and other honours, and were met on the way by the *adikars* and chiefs, who attended them to the great square, to wait the *nākata* hour, the arrival of which was announced by a discharge, of jingals; when the rice and ears of paddy were carried to the respective places for which they were destined. At the same fortunate hour, the chiefs and people brought new rice and paddy from their own fields and houses.

The *nākata* for eating the new rice occurred two or three days after the preceding. The rice was dressed according to rule, and mixed with certain curries, and ate with the face in a particular direction; on all which points instructions were given in the *nākat-vaṭṭōru*. The rice that was dressed and offered to the gods on this occasion, was either buried or consumed by the priests; not indiscriminately, but only by those who had led previously a life of purity.

\* Davy (1821), 175-176.



*PART FOUR*  
*THE LEGAL SYSTEM*



## DELICTS

IT has been suggested that a distinction between crimes and civil wrongs is made even in primitive systems of law, and that it may in fact be easier to discern such a differentiation in primitive law than in mature legal systems.<sup>1</sup> A careful consideration of the nature of crimes and civil wrongs indicates, however, that no clear-cut bifurcation is made in any system. The essence of a civil wrong or tort is that it can be compromised by the parties, whereas in the case of a crime, the sanction is enforced or remitted by the state.<sup>2</sup> But according to Kandyan law it was quite in order for a state official to permit the compromise of a case of cattle stealing by the parties concerned. Hence the distinction between crime and tort is hard to determine, and Maine's contention that the penal law of "ancient" societies was not the law of *crimina*, but of *delicta*,<sup>3</sup> deserves consideration.

Although the Sinhalese did not make a formal division of their laws (*nīti*) into crimes and civil wrongs, there nevertheless are unmistakeable signs of the ubiquity of some conception of public justice. The king certainly was the fountain of justice to whom appeal may be made in all cases of injustice, but a few delicts were visited by penal sanctions inflicted by the state and could on no account be compromised by the parties, the so-called "high crimes" such as homicide, suicide, and treason being the chief among them. Thus a collective fine was imposed upon inhabitants of a village in which a murder had been committed in a dwelling if the offender was not detected and brought to justice.<sup>4</sup> There was no question of private compromise here: a definite penal sanction was inflicted by the sovereign upon those who neglected to bring to justice the perpetrator of a heinous wrong. It is no wonder that people considered it their duty to discover a murderer, and when a corpse was once discovered in the village of Kuṃbuloluva, the inhabitants made offerings at the local *kōvila* dedicated to two demons (*kadavara*), until the murderer came "running like a foolish man," i.e., possessed, and being tied up by the villagers, confessed to the murder.<sup>5</sup>

1. A. S. Diamond, *Primitive Law* (London 1935), 279 et seq.

2. cf. Kenny's *Criminal Law* ed. J. W. C. Turner (Cambridge, 1952) Ch. 1.

3. Sir Henry Maine, *Ancient Law* (1861), Ch. X.

4. Davy (1821), 181.

5. *R vs. Sītḍuriyalage Nandaruwe*, BJC., 14-7-1817, (CGA. 23/3).



But no precise definition of a public delict, as distinguished from a private wrong, was ever attempted. Nor was such definition possible, since the penalty inflicted by the state for public delicts—that is, public justice—was determined by analogy with the measure of vengeance likely to have been exercised by an aggrieved individual in the circumstances of the case.<sup>6</sup> Vengeance need not take the form of physical injury, for the wrongdoer would equally suffer by being subjected to a fine or incarceration. Occasionally a double penalty was imposed, public and private justice being combined. Thus in the case of robbery, double damages may be imposed as compensation to the aggrieved individual (*vandiya*), and a fine (*daḍa*) in consideration of the wrongdoer's violation of public morals. In a case of cattle stealing the owner received one head of cattle in addition to his own, together with the supposed value of the service of the stolen animal.<sup>7</sup>

Likewise for the delict of sorcery several persons were executed and their lands given to the injured party.<sup>8</sup> The delict of sorcery or *hūniyam*, consisted in the performance of certain operations on the effigy of a victim, in order to cause his sickness, death, or other misfortune, and it was contrary to public morals because it used an admittedly effective power for a pernicious end. Again, a murderer's property would be assigned to his victim's widow and children, and he would either be executed, or flogged through the four streets of Kandy and banished for life, or for a shorter period, in a royal village. If the injury did not result in death, no confiscation of property was allowed.<sup>9</sup>

The arbitrariness of penal sanctions in the case of public delicts indicates that the monarch was allowed greater latitude in the disposition of public justice than was an individual wreaking vengeance upon one guilty of a private wrong. Thus the king avenged those guilty of treason at will, exonerating them or punishing the entire family, "it may be kills them altogether, or gives them all away for Slaves."<sup>10</sup> When corporal punishment was awarded, "the King, Chief, or Headman (as the case may be) being present, directs the

6. cf. Maine, *op. cit.*

7. RCD. 22-3-1822, (Lawrie Mss).

8. cf. *Rajapakse Duraya vs. Wattura Duraya*, BJC, 22-3-1826, (CGA. 23/17). D'Oyly (1835) states that several cases occurred in Narendra Simha's reign.

9. In *R. vs. Neherrepola Mohottala*, BJC., 24-11-1818, (CGA. 23/4), the Chiefs made it clear that a man's lands were taken in case of murder, but not if injury did not cause death. In the latter case no double penalty was imposed, the wrongdoer being punished by death or other penalty, but no case being known of compensation as well.

10. Knox (1681), 64.

punishment to cease, when he judges it to be sufficient."<sup>11</sup> But virtuous kings were enjoined to mete out punishment to the guilty *in proportion* to their offence,<sup>12</sup> and the mental climate of myth idealized this notion of even justice.<sup>13</sup> The variety of possible punishments for murder, ranging from death to whipping and imprisonment, was probably due to the fact that there were various extenuating circumstances. Thus murder committed under circumstances of grave provocation and aggression on the part of the murdered person, was not capitally punished and the offender only sentenced to severe punishment short of death,<sup>14</sup> while the murder of a robber or an adulterer detected in the act, was condoned as justifiable.

Apart from the "high crimes" which were generally acknowledged to be subject to the somewhat arbitrary sanctions of public justice emanating directly or indirectly from the king (e.g., fine, imprisonment,<sup>15</sup> flogging, mutilation,<sup>16</sup> degradation,<sup>17</sup> banishment,<sup>18</sup> or death<sup>19</sup>), the distinction between public and private delicts lost its significance in the case of the lesser delicts.<sup>20</sup> Even a private person could accuse another of a public delict and bring him to trial: if a charge of robbery was proved, the delinquent's property was assigned to the prosecutor, but if the charge was false the accuser's land went to the wrongly arraigned individual.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, in the case of a private delict, the avenger was invariably assisted or controlled by public force, his act of vengeance having the tacit

11. D'Oyly (1835), 57.

12. cf. *Kavyashekharaya* (ed. Abeyesekera, 1935).

13. Elāra who ruled "with even justice toward friend and foe," applied the age-old maxim of retributive justice of "an eye for an eye" when his son's chariot killed a calf: he caused the prince's head to be severed by that same wheel (*Mhv*, 21-16-18).

14. RCD 29-3-1822, (Lawrie Mss).

15. In a royal village or in the Great Jail (*maha hīragē*). Prisoners were entirely supported by their relatives. (RCD. 25-4-1820 Lawrie Mss).

16. Mutilation appears to have been founded on the principle of "an eye for an eye." Thus an arm was amputated for robbing the Treasury, the tongue pulled out for slander, and so on. Such penalties were rare in late Kandyan times, although the last king imposed such penalties on some alleged spies of the British.

17. e.g., by cutting off a woman's hair for arrogating honours or apparel above her rank, or degrading a person to the *roḍiyās*.

18. Rakke Unnāse was banished across the River as it was an offence for a priest to take an oath at a *dēvāle* without the king's permission (*Ahō-godde Mohottala vs. Paragahave Mohottala*, BJC, 6-5-1817. CGA. 23/2). Banishment was announced by beat of tom-toms (BJC 16-5-17, CGA. 23/2).

19. By impaling, or by being trampled by elephants, or (in the case of women) by drowning.

20. Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Structure and Social Function* (London, 1952) seems to differentiate too sharply between private and public delicts.

21. *R. vs. Neherrepola Mohottala*, BJC, 24-1-1818, (CGA. 23/4).



or overt sanction of the state. In such delicts less latitude was allowed to the avenger. His mode of retribution, if harsh, was defined by use and wont, and it was hardly in his power to relax it, for his remedy was founded on the penal sanction which epitomized the feeling of the community against an act of one of its members which offended some strong moral sentiment and produced a condition of social dysphoria.<sup>22</sup> Thus a *hakuru* caste girl who had been raped by a *paduva* man was put to death ceremonially by one of her own kinsmen. His action gave expression to a collective feeling of moral indignation, and so restored the social euphoria. Justice was done although no punishment was meted out to the man of lower caste who raped the girl, since the delict lay not in the act of rape. The wrong-doer was the girl who had, perhaps involuntarily, degraded her kinsmen, and she had to suffer the harsh penalty established by custom and tacitly sanctioned by the state. By killing her, the family was saved from degradation to a lower caste.

This undefined pressure of public opinion was one of the social forces behind delictual sanctions. Thus when a man was suspected of five murders, his neighbours were enjoined to refrain from eating and drinking with him until his innocence was established.<sup>23</sup> Likewise suicide, or attempted suicide, or even the threat of committing it, was often the means of giving publicity to an accusation or calumny, or of obtaining satisfaction if a debt remained unsettled or an injury unredressed. Before killing himself the aggrieved individual would publicly call down punishment upon the debtor or injuring party. The chief of the province would exact a fine known as *pali*, "atonement," from the person denounced, if he was found to be guilty of the injury alleged by the dead man. "But there are also Instances in which a Person threatens aloud within Hearing of the Man who had injured him, that he is about to commit Suicide for such a Cause, but without the Intention of committing it, and with the mere View of compelling Satisfaction."<sup>24</sup>

The administration of public justice was often delegated to state officials who sometimes showed no quality of mercy. A particularly gruesome case is recorded of a *mohottāla* who placed a suspected robber in the stocks all night, having beaten him with red-hot tongs in the hope of eliciting a confession. Next morning a *kapuvā* summoned to perform a *kemvara* ceremony, offered betel leaves to the deities, and falling down in a trance (*pissu vāṭicca*), said: "You have the property; why do you not return it to the *mohottāla*. I am the person who made you stop at the foot of the mango tree and made you want to do it," and so on. The devil was supposed to

22. Radcliffe-Brown, *op. cit.*

23. *Henapola Arama vs. Henapola Aboda*, BJC, 6-2-1824, (CGA. 23/12. Pt. I).

24. D'Oyly (1835), 37, 80, 90.

speak through the *kapuva*. But these ceremonies being of no avail, the alleged robber was tortured by irons being thrust up his finger nails. He further stated in evidence that "a stick was thrust up my fundament, and insects put on my navel and covered with a cocoa-nut shell, so as to oblige them to endeavour to escape through the body." The *adhikārama* stated that this mode of torture by insects was considered very severe, but not illegal.<sup>25</sup> The man's guilt had to be established to all costs.

25. *R. vs. Neherrepola Mohottale*, BJC, 6-12-1817, (CGA. 23/3).



## II

### NON-DELICTUAL ACTIONS

THE idea of injury-and-retribution which is the foundation of the law of delicts, is foreign to certain social relationships which were nevertheless regulated by law. Some of these non-deliictual legal sanctions were identical with custom and convention (the so-called "customary law"), but not all custom is law. Obligations which have no legal sanction are not matters of law, since the sphere of law is coterminous with that of organized legal sanctions.<sup>26</sup> Thus not every marriage custom was relevant to the legality of a Kandyan marriage. (cf. post pt. 6, sec. I). But many everyday transactions had legal implications, and prudent men regulated their actions in order to be on the right side of the law. A man would not, for instance, attempt to recover a debt from a surety however convenient such a proceeding would be to him, since the law required him to go first to the principal debtor, if the latter was solvent.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly a transfer of land, if it was to be legally binding, had to conform to certain minimal formalities. When a man was about to transfer some land to another in consideration of assistance and support, Ratvatte Disāva at whose *valavva* the transaction took place, pointed out to the donor that informal transfers were worthless: "Your talking will not do: you must give a *kāṭa sākki*, in proof that you will perform your promise." Accordingly, a symbolic transfer was made, the transferor taking up a stone (*kāṭa sākki*), and handing it over to the donee.<sup>28</sup> Further formalities were necessary if the transferor intended to exclude his heirs-at-law. If he did not state the grounds of disinheritance in a written deed, he should publicly disinherit his son by striking a hatchet or axe against a rock, and calling down the usual imprecations upon whomsoever should dispute the donee's rights.<sup>29</sup>

26. cf. Buckland, *Some Reflections on Jurisprudence* (Cambridge, 1945), X (a).

27. *Udaville Mudiyanse vs. Welatte Gabenralle*, BJC, 15-10-1821, (CGA. 23/8).

28. *Maha Kehelwatte Unnanse vs. Baddewatte Appu*, BJC, 6-5-1819, (CGA. 23/5).

29. *Henepallewatte Appuhamy vs. Wiracongedere Punchi Etana*, BJC, 11-10-1827, (CGA. 23/21).

## III

### THE COURTS

#### GAMSABHAVA

IN Kandyan times the *gamsabhāva* or village council, consisted of an assembly of the principal and experienced men of the village, who met at an *ambalama*, under a shady tree, or other convenient place.<sup>30</sup> A *gamsabhāva* was commonly convened to arbitrate in disputes, debts, and petty delicts. When in the early British Period a *kōrāla* was taken to task for not having brought a case of cattle stealing before the courts as a criminal action, it was held that Kandyan Law did not regard it at all improper for a *kōrāla* and the parties to have the case adjudged by a village council,<sup>31</sup> which had authority to impose a fine if a headman was present. In the case of public delicts the *gamsabhāva* would commit the case for trial before a superior court after a preliminary inquiry. Thus in a case of assault the principal inhabitants of the village assembled at an *ambalama* and after inquiry and examination of the injuries, ordered the offender up to Kandy.<sup>32</sup>

The endeavours of this assembly of neighbours were directed not so much to punishment, as to amicable settlement of disputes according to accepted canons of justice, without that delay and expense which arbitration by officials invariably entailed. The following random instances demonstrate that the proceedings of the *gamsabhāvas* were characterized by admonition, compromise, and commonsense, unsullied by legal technicality and rigid rules of procedure. Tikiri, with the assistance of a conjurer, located some goods stolen from him in the house of Kuḍā, who pleaded to the village elders that he had discovered certain articles in a pit in his chena, and was prepared to hand over what he claimed to have found. But the *gamsabhāva* discredited his plea, and considering him the thief, decreed that he must hand over all the goods that Tikiri had lost, and because he did not, Tikiri seized his land.<sup>33</sup> Again, a *gamsabhāva* having difficulty in dividing a field between

30. D'Oyly (1835), 28 Knox (1681), 84.

31. Per Simon Sawers, Judicial Commissioner, in *Pallemeralavas vs. Kabelle Aracchilla*, BJC, 26-9-1819, (CGA. 23/20).

32. *R. vs. the Korala of Manassene*, BJC, 12-11-1816, (CGA. 23/1).

33. *Pallegedere Rulimanikrāla vs. Kitulgastenne Vidan*, BJC, 8-5-1819 CGA. 23/5).



two brothers, noticed a snake crossing the field, and unanimously decided to adopt the line of its path.<sup>34</sup> Finally, a *gamsabhāva* foregathered to hear a complaint of a family that one of its members contemplated giving his land to a stranger, advised him against it.<sup>35</sup>

Hayley states that appeal lay from decisions of the *gamsabhāvas* to the district councils or *raṭa sabhāvas*.<sup>36</sup> In fact, however, there is no evidence that *raṭa sabhāvas* functioned at all in the *uḍa raṭa*. It was only in the Sinhalese Dry Zone (including Mātālē) that *raṭa sabhas* fulfilled the function of appeal courts, usually convened at the request of a village headman.<sup>37</sup> For in Nuvarakalāviya and Mātālē, distance from the capital and insulation from central government officialdom, militated against appeals being made to the various state officials invested with judicial powers, and ultimately to the Great Gate (*maha vāsala*). Codrington's attempt to find an analogue for the constitution of the *gamsabhāva* in that of the *raṭa sabhās* has no justification at all.<sup>38</sup> The lengthy sessions of the Dry Zone *raṭa sabhās* were marked by etiquette, decorum, and punctilio, the *gamarāla* being responsible for providing meals for all those who assembled for these prolonged deliberations, while the meetings of the *uḍa raṭa* village councils were brief and informal.

34. Lawrie (1898), II. 603.

35. BJC, 11-9-1827. in Lawrie Mss.

36. Hayley (1923), 60.

37. Hayley's authorities, Pridham (1849), I. 219, and Forbes (1840), I. 71, both refer to Nuvarakalāviya and Mātālē only, and not to the *uḍa raṭa* proper.

38. Codrington (1938), 3. Hayley (1923), 60 makes a like comparison.

#### SAKKI BALANDA

These courts of inquiry consisted of the principal men of a district, including minor officials such as *lēkams*, *kōrālas*, and *vidānas*. There is little information about the *sākki balanḍa* save for the authority of Davy, who compared their duties to those of a coroner in England:

When a dead body was found, no one should touch it till it had been examined by the *Sākki-balanḍa*, not even if the body were hanging, though by cutting it down suspended animation might possibly be restored. It was the business of these officers to endeavour to ascertain the cause of death, and all circumstances connected with it. In case of suicide occurring in a village, the suicide having been of sound mind, or subject to temporary fits only of insanity, the *Sākki-balanḍa* inflicted a fine on the inhabitants of fifty *riḍīs* (about twenty nine shillings), which were to be divided between these officers and the *disāva*,— ten to the former, five to a *lēkam* if present, and the remainder to the *disāva*: and the body could not be burnt or buried till the fine was paid,—a prohibition that insured it payment: for a heavier fine of one hundred or even two hundred *riḍīs* was imposed on those who allowed a corpse to decay unburied or unburnt. If the suicide were a confirmed idiot or lunatic, no fine was inflicted. In the first instance, the inhabitants were punished for want of attention to an individual who required it, and whose life might have been preserved had such attention been paid; whilst in the latter, they were excused, because they were not supposed to have time to spare to watch individuals who required incessant vigilance.<sup>39</sup>

39. Davy (1821), 181-182.



## JUDICIAL POWERS OF STATE OFFICIALS 40

In most districts, appeal from decisions of the *gamsabhāvas* could be made to state officials, e.g., *kōrāla*, *mohottāla*, *disāva*, *adhikārama*, and finally to the king.<sup>41</sup> There was no definite order of appeal to these officials : a man might go direct to the *disāva* or even the king. The authority of the various officials differed in respect of the classes of people over whom they had jurisdiction, the offences which came under their purview, and the punishments they were empowered to impose, which were nicely graded. Thus the jurisdiction of officials ranged from the extensive judicial powers vested in the *adhikāramas*, to the highly circumscribed authority of the petty headmen.

The *adhikāramas* had exclusive jurisdiction subject only to the king of the people subject to their peculiar authority, e.g., the *katubulla* and *kasakāra* people. They also had a concurrent jurisdiction over all persons in the kingdom and the various provinces were divided between the two *adhikāramas* for this purpose, but these powers were exercised in communication with the appropriate chiefs, and never without their concurrence. They could not, however, take cognizance of disputes between the principal chiefs, or of the officers of the king's household. They were empowered to adjudicate in all public delicts including robbery, theft, and assault, but not in high crimes such as homicide and treason, since the king alone could impose the death sentence. They could also hear all civil suits between individuals without limitation of value, but not cases affecting royal or *dugganna* lands, "unless on the complaint of a common Person the *duggannarāla* be satisfied and the Decision be in his favour."<sup>40</sup> In the *uḍa raṭa* the *adhikāramas* alone could give *siṭṭu* or written decrees for land and *divi-siṭṭu* or swearing-decrees. In all cases appeal lay to the king.

The *adhikāramas* had the exclusive privilege of awarding punishment with the cane carried by their *katubulla* officers, as well as power to inflict corporal punishment, imprisonment, or fine, "without fixed Limit in Degree, but the Mode of Punishment will vary according to the Rank of the offender."<sup>40</sup> Their powers of punishment over certain classes were restricted, and they could not impose corporal chastisement upon any of the following—the principal chiefs and *duggannarālas*; the *talapat-vāḍanakārayō* and *pandank-kārayō*; the *saṭṭambis* of the Royal Bath : the *mulacāriyō* and

40. D'Oyly (1835), 23 et seq.

41. Hayley (1923) incorrectly states that appeal lay to *raṭa sabhas*. This was so only in one or two outlying provinces.

headmen of the Artificer's Department (*koṭṭalbadda*) ; the *lēkams*, *karkāṇams* and *gebanarālas* of the royal storehouses, treasuries, and arms-houses ; the physicians of the *bētgē* ;<sup>42</sup> the *kūṇam maḍuva* and *maha lēkam* people ; the royal washermen ; certain temple officers, viz., the *kāriyakaranna-rālas* and *vattiru-rālas* of the *māligāva*,<sup>43</sup> and the *kapurālas* of the *dēvālas*. Of the foregoing classes, the *adhikāramas* could imprison and fine only the *maha-lēkam* and *kūṇam-maḍuva* people, the royal washermen, and the temple officers. Persons imprisoned by order of an *adhikārama* could not be released without his permission.

The *disāvas* had jurisdiction over all persons and lands within their respective provinces, except those persons attached to the king's household or to the department of another chief appointed by the king. They could hear all land suits in their *disāvanēs*, and all public delicts except the high crimes. They had power to grant *siṭṭu* for land with their signature, and *divi-siṭṭu*, only within their own provinces. They could award corporal punishment (except with the cane), imprison and fine without any fixed limit in degree persons subject to their jurisdiction but they, like the *adhikāramas*, took into consideration the rank and condition of the parties, according to usage. Thus corporal punishment was not inflicted upon nobles and high officials such as *atapattu* and *koḍituvakkū lēkams*, *kōrālas* of high families, and *vanniyars*, but *kōrālas* of low family and other inferior officials such as *āraccis* and *vidānas*, as well as common *goyigama* people could be punished with the open hand. *Goyigama* people of low condition for flagrant offences, and low caste persons were punished with twigs called *ipal*. Those exempt from corporal punishment were not imprisoned in the *maha hiragē* or Great Jail ; instead, the *disāva* usually fixed a fine and the person concerned was detained in the *atapattu maḍuva* until it was paid. If the offence merited greater punishment by representation to the king, such offenders were imprisoned in a *katubulla* village.

The *disāva* usually heard cases himself, seated in the Court of his *valavva*, surrounded by the headmen of his province standing in his presence. In late Kandyan times inquiry was sometimes delegated to two or three principal *mohottālas* or *kōrālas*. In doubtful cases the *disāva* would take the opinion of the principal headmen

42. Shortly after the British occupation Ahālēpoḷa struck one of the king's physicians (*vedarāla*) and at the inquiry held at the Audience Hall, the Chiefs declared that with the exception of the meanest, viz. those who bring wood and water, the king's servants could not be punished in that way by any chiefs, even the *adhikāramas*, and Molligoda Adhikārama who was present recalled that when the *kūṇam maḍuva lēkam* travelling with the last king struck a palanquin-bearer, the *lēkam* was sent to his village in disgrace. Even a king's attendant could not be struck even by the officer appointed in charge of them. BJC. 7.4-1817, (CGA. 23/2).

43. For an account of these *māligāva* officials cf. Hocart (1931).



of his province. The decision was communicated to the parties either by the *disāva* himself or by a headman, and a *sittuva* was granted to the successful party on payment of a fee varying from five to fifty *ridi*.

According to Knox the *adhikāramas*, *disāvas* and other elevated officers were not always well versed in the law, in which case their inferior officers "do teach and direct them how to Act."<sup>44</sup> D'Oyly too remarks that "the chief officers being principally chosen from the noble families, it frequently happened that they were persons of inactivity and inability, and being experienced in the affairs of the province or department committed to their charge, were frequently guided in judicial as well as other matters, by the provincial headmen, or by those of their household."<sup>45</sup> Most of these lesser officials had judicial powers of a very restricted nature.

*Lēkams*, *raṭēmahatmayō*, principals of temples, and heads of Departments attached to the king's Court and Household had jurisdiction over persons subject to their orders. They could dispossess of land and give written *vattōru* addressed to the headman reciting their decision and ordering possession to be delivered, but they were not empowered to grant *sittu* of decision with their signature, nor *divi sittu* in the *uḍa raṭa*. Principals of temples could, however, give *sittu* and *divi sittu* in cases arising in villages belonging to their temples, situated in the *disāvanēs*. They could hear all public delicts, except high crimes, and could award corporal punishment (except with the cane), according to rank and situation of the offenders.

*Mohottālas*, *kōrālas*, and *āraccis* of the *disāvanēs* had limited jurisdiction in public and private delicts over persons subject to their authority, but they exercised it chiefly when the *disāva* was away from his constituency. In all civil cases their power was limited to disputes regarding limits of gardens and fields of a few *kurunis* extent, possession of a few fruit trees, or debts of a few *ridi*. They could give *vattōru* of decision without signature, deliver possession of land, and sequester land and crops. They could cause slight corporal punishment to be inflicted on common persons with the open hand, or on low caste individuals with rods. They could imprison robbers whose guilt was undoubted in their houses, or in *kaḍavat*, or stocks, until they restore the stolen property with damages. Other offenders they could confine for a few days, or make them prisoners at large by taking the handkerchief from their heads. The three

44. Knox (1681), 79.

45. D'Oyly (1835), 29, 30. C. H. Cameron in his *Report on the Judicial Establishments*, 31-1-1832, (Colebrooke Papers, ed. G. C. Mendis, Oxford University Press) says that the chiefs he conversed with put forward this ignorance of the law as a matter of boast, the drudgery of mastering the law being considered unworthy of their condition.

principal *mohottālas* could not impose fines exceeding 10 *ridis*, while *kōrālas*, and *āraccis* were limited to 5 *ridi*.

*Liyanarālas*, *uṇḍirālas*, *kōrālas* and *āraccis* of the *uḍa raṭa*, which districts were adjacent to the capital, and admitted of easy reference of legal matters to superior chiefs, had very limited powers. They settled trifling civil cases rather as arbitrators than judges. They could not dispossess of land, but could sequester land and crops upon complaint, for default of revenue or failure of attendance when summoned. They could punish persons of low degree by ten or fifteen blows with the open hand, inflicted standing. Robbers whose guilt was established could be imprisoned until satisfaction was made, but if the charge was denied they were bound to send the parties to a superior chief. They could not imprison for more than one or two days, nor could they levy fines exceeding 3 *ridi* except in grave cases, in which event the fine could be raised to 7½ *ridi*, the case being reported and the fine delivered to the Superior chief.

The *vidānas*, who were appointed over particular villages, had limited powers in public and private delicts of trifling importance. They occasionally punished low caste people by a few blows with the open hand, inflicted standing. In general they could not imprison without higher authority, nor levy fines exceeding 2½ *ridis*, of which half a *ridi* belonged to the *durayā*. Larger fines had to be accounted for and reported to their chief. *Vidānas* of royal villages could imprison for four or five days at the royal granary and levy many small fines, for offences such as neglect in cultivating royal lands, and trespass of cattle. The *vidānas* acted as police officers within their local jurisdictions.

Since a litigant could always appeal to a higher official if dissatisfied with the decree of a subordinate one, a wealthy man with a weak case would go to a higher official and bribe him to grant a decree in his favour without even hearing the other party. Originally a token of respect, the *bulat surulla* came to be an euphemism for a fee. It was said to have at one time been limited to five or ten *ridi* payable by the successful litigant upon receiving the *sittuva* or written decree in his favour.<sup>46</sup> The *bulat surulla*, which was returned to the litigant who did not gain his suit,<sup>47</sup> was hardly more than a bribe in the hands of unscrupulous officials. But there were a few chiefs "reputed no less for their Ability in the Investigation of suits, than their Integrity in the Decision of them," in which case the unsuccessful litigant would bide his time and re-open the case when the official of integrity was replaced by a less scrupulous successor. In *Dinnevekke Medde Ganagoda Lekam vs. Welegedere Kariyakoranan*

46. D'Oyly (1835), 29.

47. *Hecongedere Mudianse vs. Petotrelle Rala*, BJC, 21-12-1816, (CGA. 23/1).



*Rala*,<sup>48</sup> an ordinary dispute about land which, as Davy says, was the commonest subject of litigation, it transpired that the case was heard by Migastāne Adhikārama in Śaka 1709, and after full inquiry judgement was given in favour of the defendant. In Śaka 1712 Pilima Talavve Senior confirmed that decision, but in Śaka 1730 Pilima Talavve junior decided in favour of Plaintiff. This decision was set aside by Āhālēpola in Śaka 1733. Finally, Moligoḍa Adhikārama made a full inquiry in Śaka 1737—a record of twenty-five years of litigation.<sup>49</sup>

But justice could not always be balked by a rich litigant. A man driven to desperation would appeal to the king, either by prostrating himself before His Majesty or, if he failed to met the King by chance outside the palace, and could not gain audience within on account of the machinations of the *adhikārama* who decided his case unjustly, he would ascend a tree in the vicinity of the palace and proclaim aloud his grievance. The king would then order a trial before the Great Court (*maha naḍuwa*).<sup>50</sup> Appeal to the king was the last resort of a desperate suitor, for he feared to incur the wrath of an influential chief. On the other hand, the possibility of appeal to the king, who would sometimes punish corrupt officials with extreme severity,<sup>51</sup> deterred officials from making patently unjust decisions.

48. BJC, 29-3-1819, (CGA. 23/2).

49. cf. also Appendix I.

50. "Attaragama Nilame prostrated himself before the last king and complained of an injustice done to him by the *adhikāramas*. The king ordered an enquiry in the Great Court by Migastāne Adhikārama, Dehigama Uḍa-gabaḍā Nilamē, Mullegama Disāva and others. They decided in favour of Attaragama and the king confirmed their decision. Afterwards one of the defendant's family climbed a cocoanut tree in the Nata Dēvāle grounds opposite to the place and cried for redress. The king ordered a new trial, but none was held" (BJC, 3-7-1822, in Lawrie Mss).

51. In the last king's reign, a *muhandiram*, an *āracci*, and a *kankāṇam* of the *gabaḍāva* were impaled for releasing people who came on *rājakāriya*, taking bribes from them for the favour (D'Oyly's *Diary*, April 5th., 1812).

### THE MAHA NAḌUWA

"The Great Court called *Maha Naḍuwa*, formerly and properly consisted of the *adhikāramas*, *disāvas*, *lekams* and *muhandirams* (on a low bench), but of late years all the Chiefs have been called to assist at it, and especially any distinguished for their ability and judgement."<sup>52</sup> The venue of the Court was fixed as occasion suited, in the verandah of the Audience Hall, or in buildings outside the Palace. The Chiefs took their seats according to rank from right to left, and the inquiry was conducted by the *adhikārama* or any other chief of ability and experience. The proceedings followed "the natural and most obvious courses of procedure": the plaintiff or prosecutor first stated his case, the defendant answered, and the evidence of the plaintiff, the defendant, and their witnesses were heard. Evidence of witnesses unable to attend on account of illness was allowed, messengers being sent to bring their statements in writing confirmed, if possible, by oath at a neighbouring *dēvāla*. Witnesses who attended were sworn at a neighbouring *dēvāla* in the presence of two or three headmen, but only in important cases. The proceedings were oral, and no record kept, except for the writing of lists of moveable property in action, or a written statement of his case by either party, on a palm-leaf (*vitti vaṭṭōruva*). In land cases the title was traced from an original proprietor, the history of the property being traced to the disputants.

Delictual and non-delictual actions came under the cognizance of the Court. They were of two kinds: those which were referred for hearing by the king, and those which were originally instituted before it, usually by the Chief under whose jurisdiction the complainant was. "Differences of opinion amongst the Chiefs were seldom persisted in after full discussion. But if either party be obstinate against the determination of the Court the case is sometimes submitted to the king, especially if it concern property of value or persons of consequence."<sup>52</sup> In land cases, palm-leaf decrees known as *sittu* were written and signed by the senior *adhikārama* present, or sometimes by the second *adhikārama* for lands situated within his local jurisdiction. The *sittu* contained the names of the parties, the land in dispute, the decision of the Court, and the date. If the decision be confirmed by the king, the *sittu* records his authority, otherwise the authority of the Court. The *sittu* was given to the successful party, and no record or copy was preserved by the Court. The Great Court could not exceed the powers which were individually vested in the *adhikāramvaru*.

52. D'Oyly (1835), 21-22.



## IV

## PROCEDURE

SINCE the systematic administration of justice requires a central government able to use the force necessary to ensure obedience to decrees of its courts, the very concept of "law" may properly be made to turn on the fact of organized legal sanctions—that is, the presence of a group of persons delegated with authority to enforce the laws.<sup>53</sup> A suspected murderer may have to be apprehended and remanded pending trial, a robber confined in the stocks;<sup>54</sup> it may be necessary for a defaulter of taxes to be imprisoned in a *gabaḍāgama*,<sup>55</sup> or for an *āracci* of the *maha lēkam* to sequester a crop of paddy for failure to perform *rājakāriya*. Similarly, a *lēkam* may have to be sent to make a *vattōruva* or inventory of property belonging to a man found guilty of treason, to seal his house, and hand in any moneys found to the *gabaḍāva*.<sup>56</sup> Even in private disputes the king might order the withdrawal of a *sannasa* and have it deposited in the *gabaḍāva* pending a hearing of the case.<sup>57</sup>

The device of *velekme* well illustrates the manner in which a debtor who was tardy in fulfilling his obligations could be compelled to answer for his neglect. Confronted by his creditor, the latter stops him and draws a circle round him on the ground with a stick, or without even this ceremony, sits down beside him and forbids him by the King's command to move without discharging his debt. Neither can stir until another person either engages to be answerable for the debt, or undertakes in the presence of witnesses, to call both before the proper chief. This process was also employed by the principal headmen to recover fines. In such cases the culprit was required to sit down in the sun and sometimes obliged to hold with both hands a heavy stone laid on his shoulders, which weight he may shift from one side to another, but not cast off for fear of

immediate corporal punishment.<sup>58</sup> In Kirti Sri's reign, a Moorman borrowed 3000 *riḍis* from the Treasury stipulating to trade with the money and pay interest annually. Since he defaulted for two years, Augamma Adhikārama who was one of the *vannaku nilamēs* of the Treasury, sent for satisfaction of the debt, but found that the debtor had been inhibited in *velekme* by another creditor. The king declared that he had been anticipated by the other creditor, and directed that the latter's claim be paid from the Treasury before the Moorman was apprehended to settle the King's claims.<sup>59</sup>

Besides fear of the physical force at the disposal of the state to compel obedience, the laws acquired a peculiar sanctity on account of a general belief in their supernatural foundations.<sup>60</sup> Thus a *bōla*, a bundle of leaves tied to a post or tree by an individual or state official as a sign that a tract of land was in dispute—would effectively prevent the occupant or owner from intermeddling with the land for fear of divine displeasure.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, so strong was the belief in the divine basis of law that on occasions when disputes could not be settled to the satisfaction of the parties by the secular modes of trial, resort was made to the oath (*diviya*), the object of which was to secure divine judgement. The deities being invoked with due ceremony, their will was communicated by some sign or infliction. Although litigants did on occasion refuse to accept decisions arrived at after prolonged deliberation, even by the Great Court they seldom dared flout the will of the gods.<sup>62</sup> Hence a deed of gift invariably contained imprecations upon whomsoever disputed the ownership of the property gifted, as well as an invocation imploring divine protection of the donee from the ill-effects of oath. "If any person of the family or any other disputes regarding the land, the wrath of god will come upon them. This I pronounce once, twice, thrice. But Aluvihāre Mahatmayō or any daughters or sons descending

58. D'Oyly (1835), 57, 64.

59. BJC, 22-12-1829 (in Lawrie Mss).

60. Hartshorne (1870).

61. A proprietor of a field once examined a *bōla* and found it surrounded with leaves formed into cups containing blood and milk. It was alleged that, as a result of looking into the cups, he vomited blood and died the very next day. (*Kandegedere Punched Etena vs. Salkorale Vederala*, BJC., 3-2-1824. CGA. 23/12, Pt. I). Such sorcery, which was illegal and would entitle the victim to the property of the sorcerer, was not necessary for the efficacy of a *bōla*.

62. But a litigant might demur if the oath was taken illegally, without knowledge of the Chief, even if the result were favourable to him. (BJC, 6-9-1819, in Lawrie Mss). The Chiefs did exercise their discretion in the matter of sanctioning oaths, and Āhālēpoḷa Adikar prohibited swearing between Dehigama Gabaḍā Nilame and a blacksmith, as it was not customary for nobles to swear with low-caste men (*Dehigam Udagabada Nilame vs. Gan-noruve Pallegedere Naide*) BJC, 25-11-1819, CGA. 23/30, also *Abeykongedere Punchedirala vs. Abeykongedere Appuhami*, BJC, 30-10-1816. (CGA. 23/1).

53. In this sense custom is not necessarily law. Nor is the so-called (public) international law, "law" in the proper sense of the word, "precisely because there is no legal authority above the state capable of enforcing it" (Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* ch. i. Tr. T. Parsons).

54. *Bowatte Kankanam vs. Ukuraya Kiralle*, BJC, 27-2-1817 (CGA 23/29).

55. *Madige Vidan vs. Mohottala of Dedigama*, BJC, 4-11-1816, (CGA. 23/1) and *Madanaike Basnaike vs. Minope*, BJC, 22-4-1817, (CGA. 23/2).

56. *Priest of Polpitiye Vihara vs. Polambe Korale*, BJC, 22-5-1817, (CGA. 23/2).

57. *Aluvihare Mulachariya vs. Devundere Mulachariya*, BJC, 5-9-1817, (CGA. 23/3).



from her may give the land, confirming the right by the five oaths without falling to the wrath of god. This I pronounce once, twice, thrice."<sup>63</sup>

The term "ordeal," inappropriately used to describe the ceremonial of the *diviya*, adequately connotes only those modes of trial which necessarily involved grave injury or even death to one of the parties.<sup>64</sup> There were ordeals involving risk to life and limb in vogue in antiquity, such as the ordeal by red-hot iron, in which each suitor took a red-hot iron rod and proceeding seven paces, cast it away, and the ordeal or snakes in which a cobra was placed in a narrow-necked vessel into which some silver coins were inserted by a neutral person, and the coins taken out one by one by each litigant alternately. But such dangerous ordeals had become defunct in late Kandyan times, and the five *divi* repeatedly mentioned in deeds of the period were merely appeals to divine judgement in cases in which rational modes of trial had been indecisive. Thus when there was no conclusive evidence against a suspected robber and he denied the charge, instead of giving him the benefit of the doubt, he was required to swear to his innocence.<sup>65</sup> The so-called ordeal of hot oil could only give rise to the trifling physical injury of a blister on a finger, while in the ordinary oath at a *dēvāla* which "is considered as most binding on the conscience of persons professing the Buddhist religion,"<sup>66</sup> the parties having performed certain preliminary rites of purification, passively awaited divine judgement. The guilt of a litigant was established if some injury befell him, e.g., the death of a kinsman, the loss of a buffalo, or damage to his crops or house. The following were the five principal oaths :

#### BY OIL

This was the most common form of "ordeal," and was resorted to in land disputes, in cases of debt in which the debtor denied his liability, in sorcery, and in robbery. Both parties took the oath in civil suits, but in delicts such as robbery, the person accused alone was subjected to the oath. The oath was administered by authority of the *adhikāramas* in the districts around Kandy, by the *disāvas* in their respective provinces, by the *vanniyars* of Nuvarakalāviya,

63. Translation of a deed of the twentieth day of the month of poson, in the Śaka year 1724 (BJC, December 1817. CGA. 23/3).

64. e.g., trial by battle and other dangerous ordeals common in Norman England (cf. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*. Cambridge. 1411).

65. The Chiefs say that plaintiff should be obliged to swear that defendant is indebted to him for board, and the usual mode is that the defendant should put the money on the steps of a *dēvāle* and plaintiff, after swearing that the demand is just, takes it away from defendant. But the money may not be removed until plaintiff swears. (BJC, 8-7-1820. Lawrie Mss).

66. BJC, 27-10-1818, (CGA. 21/111).

and by the principal *mohottālas* of Sabaragamuva, Seven Kōrajēs, and Vellassa. D'Oyly has left a detailed account of the procedure of the oath :

'The two parties in the suit being directed to swear, abstain from all pollutions and purify themselves during three days. On the day appointed which is either Wednesday or Saturday,<sup>67</sup> they proceed to the house of the *adhikārama*, when two *ōlas* called *divi sīttu* have been properly written and prepared, one in the name of each party, asserting the truth of the point upon which his right depends and denying the same of his adversary, declaring that he has employed no sorcery or medicines and calling the four gods<sup>68</sup> to witness the truth of his words.

'They next are sent with a messenger of the *adhikārama* to the four Temples in Kandy or sometimes only to that of Pattini. In presence of the *kapurāla* they offer each a *taṅgama* upon the altar and call the gods to witness that the contents of the *ōlas* are true, and the *kapurāla* invokes them to manifest an evidence. From the temple they proceed with three messengers to the spot where three sticks of the lime tree are planted to hold the earthen vessels in the centre of a small enclosure formed by stakes and white coconut leaves. Two or four coconuts are brought by each party. The oil is extracted from them and poured into the vessel and cowdung mixed with water and strained, is prepared in another, and the fire kindled, a friend or servant from both parties assisting in all these operations. The officers having ascertained that the oil and cowdung [and] water are boiling hot by immersing in it a strip of white coconut leaf, each litigant advancing from opposite sides with the two *divi sīttu* bound respectively to the lower part of their right arms, breaks the fence of white *ōlas* calling the gods to witness as before at the temple, that the contents of the *sīttu* are true, and seat themselves near the fire.

'First the plaintiff touches the burning oil with the tip of his fore or middle finger usually three times in succession, and sprinkles a drop or two upon a leaf which is placed beside it for the purpose of this proof and then touches and sprinkles in like manner a little of the water impregnated with cowdung. Immediately after, the defendant performs the same operation and the hands of both being wrapped up with a cloth tied round the wrist, they are conducted before the Great Court or the *adhikārama* or *disāva* who sent them. Here their fingers are minutely examined, and if nothing is perceptible their hands are usually wrapped up a second time with a wetted rag, or a piece of lime [is] stuck on the finger wherewith the boiling liquids had been touched, and their hands are re-examined the next morning or evening for the purpose of determining with greater certainty. After the examination is terminated, they both again repair to the temple with a *pingo* of fruits and become absolved from their interdiction. If both persons or neither of them be burnt, he loses the land and both *divi sīttu* are delivered to the other and if required a *sīttuva* of decision. The *kapurāla* and officers who attend are entitled to fees of one *ridi* each, the chief to five or seven-and-a-half *ridi* from both.'

'Sometimes at the desire of one or both, the parties are sent to swear at some celebrated temple in the country as Āmbākke, Doḍanvela, Alavatugoda, Alutnuvara, Dambulla and rarely Kataragama and sometimes in the *disāvanēs* the Arms<sup>69</sup> are carried from the temple to a small ornamented hut erected for the purpose in the disputed land and the ceremony performed in the same manner.'<sup>70</sup>

67. i.e., the days on which the *dēvālas* are opened.

68. i.e., vishnu, nāta, kataragama, and pattini, to whom the four *dēvāles* in Kandy were dedicated.

69. i.e., the weapons of the gods (cf. R. Pieris. 1953).

70. D'Oyly (1835), 38.



## BY PADDY

When the paddy of a disputed field is ripe a small sheaf is set apart by the possessor in the presence of his adversary and on a day appointed by the Chief the parties proceed to the field with a messenger. The weapons of the god are brought from a *dēvāla* and placed in a decorated hut. After an offering of mo y, the parties proceed to separate the grains from the ears, pound the paddy in a mortar, and boil it. Having thrown some rice at each other, they proceed to eat a quantity of it, frequently repeating the written *divi vasa-gama* asserting their respective rights, and calling upon the god to inflict some punishment within a specified period of time (usually 7 days or a fortnight) if they bear false witness. They then proceed to their homes and live with the greatest circumspection for the period fixed, and at the end of the term appear before the chief to recount anything which may have befallen the adversary since the oath. In *Mulhamy vs. Suhendi Rala*<sup>71</sup> the period fixed was one week, and five days after the oath by paddy a buffalo-calf belonging to the plaintiff was killed by a cheetah, and he lost his case. If no misfortune befell either party, the land was divided. After the result was known the parties proceed to the *dēvāla* from whence the Arms were brought to make offerings and absolution from the interdiction. "Sometimes with the view of rendering the Trial more Solemn and certain, at the season of Cultivation a small Portion of the Field is selected which both Parties plough and Sow together and when the paddy ripens, proceeding to the spot with a Headman or Messenger reap and thresh it together and perform the other Processes."<sup>72</sup>

The Judicial Commissioner's Diary<sup>73</sup> records an unusual case in which the period fixed by the parties for divine infliction was three years :

'In 1817 parties swore to the truth of their respective claims in the Pattini Dēvāle. A little paddy from the field in dispute was taken to the temple and the ornaments of the Goddess being brought out with a white cloth suspended over them they pounded the paddy in to rice before the ornaments and boiling ate it and recited their affirmations. The period for ascertaining the truth of their relative allegations was three months or three years'.

'Boratale is now lying ill with her body swollen so much that she cannot move. The defendant's wife is dead and his house was burned down accidentally all of which the plaintiff attributes to the vengeance of the Goddess of small-pox [i.e., Pattini] for the oath taken in the presence of her ornaments'.

BY EARTHEN VESSELS<sup>74</sup>

The parties repair to the disputed field with the authority of a chief. The possessor sets up an earthen vessel upon a frame raised on three cross-sticks and places a coconaut on it, and invokes the

71. BJC., 6-9-1819, (CGA. 23/30).

72. D'Oyly (1835), 39.

73. BJC., 8-7-1819, (Lawrie Mss).

74. D'Oyly (1835), 39; (Lawrie Mss.)

gods to bear witness to his claim against that of his adversary and imprecating evil if his words be false, within 7 days or a fortnight. His adversary removes the vessel and cocoanut, throws away the former and breaks and eats the latter, and repeats like imprecations. Sometimes the cocoanut is divided between the parties. The case is decided by the misfortune befalling either party within the agreed period.

## BY DRAWING WHITE OLAS

This oath was resorted to in cases of disputed boundaries between adjacent lands. The parties repair to the spot by order of the chief, accompanied by his messenger. One of them hangs a string of tender cocoanut leaves upon two or three stakes planted on the line he claims to be the boundary, and cuts a furrow in some parts of it making the usual imprecations. His opponent follows suit. The case is decided as in other modes of oath.

## BY STRIKING THE EARTH

This could be performed without authority of the Chief, by mutual consent. The parties repair to the disputed field and together strike the earth three times with both hands, (or cast up mud or water of paddy fields into the air, and sometimes at each other), calling out the usual invocations and imprecations.<sup>75</sup>

75. For these and other rare modes of oath cf. D'Oyly (1835), 38 et. seq.



## APPENDIX I

### CONFLICTING JUDGEMENTS BY OFFICIALS

IN *Halliadde Vidan vs. Dantahami Vidan*\*, a land case, the following vouchers were produced by the parties ;

1. *Ola* on which defendant claims that the *gamvasam* of Hakkamuve was granted to Loku Etena, eldest daughter of Suriya-arachi, is dated Śaka 1620.
2. *Sittuwa* in possession of plaintiff dated Śaka 1665 by the then disave of Sabaragamuva, granting one-half of the *Gamvasam* to Gillemule Appu. "But on reading the deed it appears to be not a decree granted after a hearing of both parties, but one of the *sittuwas* which could always be obtained by a fee of 5 *pagodas*, and was never considered of any force if disputed."
3. Deed of Śaka 1667 by the new *disāva* of Sabaragamuva in favour of the same person and of the same tenor as the former.
4. A deed of Śaka 1678 by the third disave, of like import.
5. A deed of Śaka 1685 by the then disave, in favour of defendant's ancestor, granted after hearing both parties and examination of witnesses, "so that the *sittuwa* granted after hearing of parties and witnesses is in favour of defendant."
6. Deed of second day, Nikini māse, Śaka 1687, granted by Pīlima Talavve *disāva*, without hearing parties or witnesses, to Gannehami, father of plaintiff.

"The circumstances of the plaintiff's family procuring all these separate *sittuwas* is almost proof that their cause was bad, and that they did not possess the land."

7. *Sittuwa* of the fourteenth day, Durutu mase, Śaka 1687, by Pīlima Talavve disave, which recites a hearing of the parties and witnesses and decrees the *gamvasama* to Punchirāla, eldest son of Loku Etena, from whom defendant is descended, thus reversing his former decree granted without hearing.

Decree of the Board of Commissioners : "On the whole therefore as defendant possesses an *ola* transferring the *gamvasam* from Suriya Arachi to Loku Etena as from the several applications made to *disāvas* by plaintiff's ancestors for separate *sittuwas*, it is clear they did not possess the land. When *sittuwas* were given after a hearing of both parties and their witnesses, they were in favour of defendant's ancestors." Plaintiff's appeal was dismissed.

\*BJC., 8-12-1818, (CGA. 23/4).

## APPENDIX II

### TRANSLATIONS OF PALM-LEAF DEEDS\*

#### I

I Peradeniye Talagahagedere Mudiyanse of Ganatipalata in Yatinuvara have granted to my lawful daughter Lama Etana the following portion of my *pravēni* property viz. Hettiange of 2 *pālas* out of the field Hapugastenkumbura, Godebullene Pela, and the *hēna* Hapujjaydeniya Hēna, the nether and upper two chenas of Hapugaskumbura, its upper garden and one cocoanut tree ; one share of the garden and one cocoanut tree ; one share of the garden egederevatte and one cocoanut tree ; and a moiety of the original garden including that part of it which I permitted Kalingurala to dwell in, all of which belonged to the above 2 fields. On this day Thursday the 5th., the constellation Nanekata of the increasing moon in the month of Poson in the year Śaka 1712.

They who dispute and annoy this [grantee], by word or deed, shall incur blame to themselves, and my lawful daughter Lama Etana shall be in no danger though she swear in the five ordeals as to her right.

The gods Ikshirele and Samam &c. will bear witness to this.

Udaperadeniya Koralegedere Mudiyanse, Embulambegedere Mudiyanse, Ratnaike Rala, Hettihamy, and Pannaya Duraya of the same village ; Vahalagiya Rala of Pahalaperadeniya, Kandavattege Rala, Hatneyke Rala, and Gamarala of the same village of the country are witnesses to this *talpat* which was written by Dumbalaivava Ratana-lankara Maha Terunavahanse.

#### II

In the year of Śaka 1724 Poson Māse, on the second day of the increasing moon, Monday.

I Peradeniye Lama Etana being destitute of food and clothing and being unable to discharge my debts, and as I have already received aid from Abeykongedere Punchirala, I have granted to him in *pravēni* the lower *pāla* of Hettiange being my own property, and now continue to receive assistance from him. Whoever shall contest and disturb this shall suffer by the oath, but seven times I declare, that neither Punchirala nor any descendant of Punchirala shall suffer therefrom and have accordingly granted him the title deed for the same land.

Witnesses to this are, Embulambegedere Ukkurala, Hettigedere Tikerala, Kunigama Vidan, Puvakgolle Punchi Appu, Poswelle Kumbura Kasakara Appu, and the writer of this *talpat* Toravature Nekatralla of Seven Korales.

\* I and II were filed before John Downing, Judicial Commissioner in 1827 (CGA. 23/21) ; III was filed in *Erewoopoley Henayaleykira vs. Epelawe Paluwatte Tikiri Naide*, BJC, 5-1-1826, (CGA. 23/17).



## III

On Thursday the 15th of the increasing moon in the month of Asala in the seventeenth year of the reign of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, Rāja Simha of the city of Sitavaka, Eminent, Happy and Renowned, superbly arrayed in the plenitude of prosperity (comparable to) the frankincense wherewith is annointed the breasts of the nymphs of all the regions,<sup>1</sup> the intrepid Lion King who demolisheth the skull of his Elephant foes, glorious as the orb of Matanda,<sup>2</sup> belonging to the Race of the Sun and descended from Maha Sammata of the Illustrious family of vaivasvata Menu.

Neyide Ācāriyā, and inhabitant of Epilave in the Galboḍa Kōraḷē, not having had the means of paying a fine of 100 fanams imposed on him by the Koṭṭalbadda Messengers on account of the negligence which they alleged against him when he furnished rice and condiments, gave up a piece of ground in that neighbourhood unto Ella Henaya, and inhabitant of Ganēgoḍa near Wayirigalle, and received from him one *kalaṇḍa* of refined gold valued at 100 fanams, but afterwards these 100 fanams, the price of the said *kalanda* of gold not having been paid to Ellekeniya and much vexation resulting in consequence, Epilave Naide Achariya having first rendered an offering of the chena ground situated at the fountainhead of the rivulet Medella Dola, being part of the lands which Epilave Naida Achariya inherited from his ancestors, unto the Divine Monarch Upulwon enshrined at Alutnuvara, did on this day transfer the same to Ella Henaya, in lieu of the 100 fanams, to be by him brought into cultivation and possessed for many ages by him and his posterity, paying a sacred contribution of five fanams annually (to the said temple). As this transfer has been made in praveni, if on any future day, myself, or a relation or child or grandchild of mine, or any person coming to the chieftainship of the province, or any subordinate officer, shall cause disturbance to him (Ella Henaya) on account of this his praveni soil, such person shall fall into the eight great Hells, called Sangeewa, Kālasūtre, Sanghata, Rowrawa, Maha Rowrawa, Tāpe, Pretāpe, and Aweechy, and throughout a number of *Kalpas*, without prospect of deliverance therefrom, shall be concocted in the seething liquid (Sārodika) which it is not possible to see or hear of without horror. Such person will be as sinful as if he had felled a sacred bō-tree and warmed himself at the fire made thereof, he will be as guilty as if he had contracted sin by destroying fish in all the four quarters, as if he had eaten the rice thrown to crows. He shall receive the birth of a Nidgaama Tanhaa Pretaya<sup>3</sup> whose body like a huge tree on fire shall be incessantly broiling and dripping away and who shall not find even phlegm or mucus to appease his tormenting hunger, and shall endure anguish throughout a whole *kalpa*. But to the contrary if any person shall by so much as a single word render his aid hereto, he shall attain divine happiness in the six worlds of deities viz. Chatummaharajika Tanatinsa, Yama, Tusita, Nimmanaratiya, Paranirmitaya, and Vasavartiya and having beheld Maitri Buddha shall finally experience *Nirvāna*.

## PART FIVE

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

1. The four cardinal and four intermediate points the zenith and nadir.
2. The being who is said to reside in the sun.
3. A monstrous being tormented with incessant and unappeasable hunger.



I

"THE CASTE SYSTEM"

CERTAIN traditional writings trace the origin of the "caste system" to the primal wickedness of our god-like ancestors who, several *kalpas* ago, revelled in an existence of anarchic bliss, but failed to control their dormant passions. Avarice, lust, greed, selfishness, and hatred got the better of them, and gave rise to conflict and internecine strife. In consequence they were transformed from gods into ordinary mortals, and besides a human anatomy differentiated into male and female, were endowed with "human nature" which, if not curbed, would have given rise to disorder and anarchy in the human world into which they had been banished from the ethereal regions. The restraints of civil society became imperative, and the king chosen to settle their disputes was named Maha Sammata, signifying "one selected by the general suffrage of all." Eventually there came into being the caste system which provided a workable *modus vivendi*, defined and legitimated by custom and law, morality and sentiment.<sup>1</sup>

This mythological narrative of the origin of the world might appear at the first blush to be no more than mere fantasy current among simple folk lacking both historical sense and scientific acumen. But myth is significant from the sociological point of view precisely because "it is a living reality, believed to have once happened in primeval times, and continuing ever since to influence the world and human destinies."<sup>2</sup> In this light myths express and enhance religious beliefs, moral ideas, and social norms. Thus the mythological account of the origin of caste is at the same time an allegorization of the current working of the "caste system." Consciousness of the fact that the realities of social life are repetitions of patterns of activity enacted in bygone times brings home the full meaning of myths of origin. For the aetiological aim of mythology is 'to cater, not for the speculative man with his "Why?" but for the practical man with "How, if not thus?"'<sup>3</sup>

1. NN, 5, contains a plain statement of such a social-contract theory, while *Janavamsa* implies one.

2. Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, (London, 1926), 21.

3. R. R. Marett, *Faith, Hope and Charity in Primitive Religion*, (Oxford, 1932), 106. On the interpretation of myth cf. also E. R. Leach, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, (London, 1954), 13-14.



The Sinhalese myth of the creation emphasises the fact that "human nature," if left uncontrolled, inevitably gives rise to lawlessness and anarchy. But although human beings are not virtuous by nature, they could become so by their own efforts. For him who sought escape from the pains and sorrows of existence, the doctrine of *karma* postulated that the ideal of *nirvāna* could be attained in a future re-birth by regulating one's actions in this world, by controlling the inordinate human cravings. "They do much extol and commend Chastity, Temperance, and Truth in words and actions; and confess that it is out of weakness and infirmity that they cannot practice the same."<sup>4</sup> A man intent on ensuring a more tolerable state of existence in his next incarnation would qualify himself by heaping merit through self-discipline on the one hand, and by subjecting himself unquestioningly to social restraints on the other: he would, besides freeing himself from attachment to lust, also tread "the path of good and ancient custom."<sup>5</sup> In such a mental climate the social order came to be regarded as relentless and unalterable. Life had to be ordered on the assumption that the regulations of caste were irrevocably pre-ordained.

The idea that caste was inexorably ordained in primeval times reconciled the so-called "low castes" (*aḍu kula*) to their duty of serving their betters. Such a notion is categorically stated in *Manu-Smṛti*, the ancient Indian legal treatise, with which the Sinhalese literati was familiar:<sup>6</sup> "One duty the Lord assigned to a *sūdra*—service to those beforementioned classes without grudging."<sup>7</sup> The existence among the Sinhalese of a system akin to the classical Hindu four-fold scheme—priestly *brahmins*, *kshatriyas* or warriors, the pastoral *vaishyas*, and the lowly *sūdras* destined to perform menial services—is attested in the survival in Ceylon of the place-name "brahmin village."<sup>8</sup> These classical

4. Knox (1681), 102.

5. Thus, according to the current narratives, Elāra (reg. circa B.C. 205), "a protector of tradition," attained miraculous power notwithstanding the fact that he failed to embrace Buddhism, because "he freed himself from the guilt of walking in the path of evil" (*Mhv.* 21.21. 34). In a thirteenth century inscription, Niśśanka Malla enjoined his subjects to preserve the station of their families, and follow ancestral customs (*EZ*, II. 162). From the example of good kings such as these, the Pāli chroniclers come to this ineluctable conclusion: "Thus men of good understanding, who have conquered pride and indolence, and have freed themselves from the attachment to lust, when they have attained to great power, without working harm to the people, delighting in deeds of merit, rejoicing in faith, do many and various pious works" (*Mhv.* 34. 94). It is a philosophy of withdrawal-and-return, of asceticism and detachment from the evils of worldly existence, coupled with the performance of good works on earth.

6. cf. G. C. Mendis (1939), 85.

7. *Manu* (SBE) I. 87. 91.

8. i.e., *bamunugama*, (Hocart. 1952).

divisions, in whatever local form they may have existed, were probably eliminated in much the same manner as some of the minute sub-divisions of the present castes disappeared during the last century.<sup>9</sup> The spirit of caste-exclusiveness nevertheless persisted, and the literati gave expression to that climate of opinion by continuing to postulate a theoretic four-fold scheme,<sup>10</sup> but conceding that the two upper divisions of the Hindu model were absent among the Sinhalese, substituted a bipartite scheme in which the cultivators (*goyivamsa* or *goyigama*) and shepherds (*nilamakkārayō* or *paṭṭivala*) corresponded to the *vaishyas*, while the "low castes" (*aḍu kula*) collectively corresponded to the *sūdras*.<sup>11</sup>

In Kandyan times the *goyigama* people, to all intents and purposes, constituted the chief caste, "the good people," as opposed to the "low castes." This farmer-aristocracy, as it has been called, was far from being a ruling minority, for it included the bulk of the population.<sup>12</sup> In fact, "the good people" were themselves subdivided into ranks. "All the members of that caste are not equal; there are within it mutually exclusive groups, there are aristocratic ones that will not intermarry with the less aristocratic . . . you can assign a Sinhalese in a wide way to the people of good birth, or more precisely to those of farmer birth, or particularize whether among farmers he is of higher or lower birth."<sup>13</sup> Many groups within the farmer caste were the result of occupational differentiation, e.g., the service-groups such as the *atapattu* people. But such groups were not necessarily endogamous. Indeed, even the fact of endogamy did not necessarily lead to the formation of a new caste, and the *nilamakkārayō* were regarded as a division of the *goyigama* although they did not intermarry with *raṭṭē* people. Occupational groups which arose in response to governmental needs, disappeared when their position was not sanctioned by requirements of state. As in India there is ample scope for fission and fusion within each major group.<sup>14</sup>

9. cf. the subdivisions of the *karāve* and other castes in *The Class and Castes of the Natives*, 1793 (PRO, CO 54/124), all of which have disappeared.

10. i.e., *raja*, *bamunu*, *velaṇḍa*, *goyi*, (royal, priestly, merchant, farmer) cf. *NN*, 15; also *Janavamsa*. The survival of personal names such as Hettiāracci, Ādihetty, suggests that a merchant class may have existed among the Sinhalese.

11. Davy (1821), 112. *NN* considers cases of marriage between *goyigama* Sinhalese and Indians of *brahmin* caste, there being no caste higher than farmers in Ceylon.

12. "The greatest part of the Inhabitants of the Land are of the degree of *Hāḍduru*" (Knox. 1681. 107). For caste statistics *vide* appendix.

13. Hocart (1952), 25, 33. Some of these *goyigama* sub-castes are really occupational groups performing specific state services, e.g., *porōkārāyō* (wood-cutters) and *kūnam-maḍuvē-gamayō* mentioned in *NN*, 15.

14. Even in India, "castes rise and fall in the social scale, and old castes die out and new ones are formed, but the four great classes are stable." (A. L. Basham, *India*. London 1954. 148).



The respectable "middle" ranks of the *goyigama* caste were the *raṭṭe āttō*, a stalwart body of country gentlemen comprising the greater part of the population, and honoured with the respectful title *hānduruvō* (vocative, *hānduruvanē*).<sup>15</sup> The names of men of this class usually ended with *appu*.<sup>16</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century, according to Knox, a few of these *hānduru* received an honour "like unto Knighthood" from the king, who conferred the title *mudiyānse* upon them by tying a silk strip embroidered with gold and silver round their heads. Hence the high-sounding *paṭabāṇḍi* (lit. "frontlet-tied") names of men so honoured, e.g., Jayavīra-mudiyānsē. The title was not hereditary, and in Knox's time only two or three persons in the realm could boast of the honour.<sup>17</sup> This title, like so many others, came to be vulgarized in later Kandyan times, and there was a considerable class of *mudiyānse* people, the *mudali-pēruva* being practically a division of the *goyigama* caste.<sup>18</sup> The *mudali* people were distinguished from, and considered "higher" than the ordinary *raṭṭe āttō*, and it was from the ranks of the *mudali-pēruva* that individuals were recruited by the kings for the higher offices, "and they are all naturally discreet and very solid, and so fitter for the Kings employment."<sup>19</sup> These families of good rank constituted a governing elite (*radalaṭṭavaru* or *radalakampēruva*), while the lesser offices were filled by the rank-and-file *raṭṭe āttō*.<sup>20</sup>

From an individual's family name (*vasagama*) it was possible to identify his rank, ancestry, and family history, for in general Kandyans preferred titles to proper names.<sup>21</sup> The *batkavapudā nama*, or name given on the occasion on which an infant was first fed with rice, was chosen with the utmost care so that the letters of the name were appropriate to the *nākata* or asterism of the moon at the time of birth.<sup>22</sup> "But when they come to years it

15. The status of the *raṭṭe* people was not uniform, and in *Nangallegame Appu vs. Kaudagame Kalu Arachilla*, BJC. 15-4-1823, (CGA 23/9), the Chiefs explained that the village of Kaudagama belonged to a class of *nindagam* which had frequently been in the hands of the king's goldsmiths, and *raṭṭe* families holding lands therein were considered of inferior rank and did not intermarry with the *raṭṭe* people of the *kōraṭṭes*.

16. Knox (1681), 111.

17. *Ibid.*, 107.

18. Eventually even the *mudali* were divided and we hear of *vadagat mudalipēruvala āttō* or "distinguished *mudali* people," in certain *Mātālē* villages. Also the family name *pradhāna mudiyānsēlāgē*. In Malhava village, *Mātālē*, certain *kinnaru* claimed descent from one Kuru-mudaliyā (cf. *Villages in Matale*, 1887, and *List of Family Names*, 1869).

19. Knox (1681), 80.

20. A class of royal officers, *radōlan*, is mentioned in tenth century inscriptions (cf. e.g., the Badulla Pillar Inscription, circa A.D. 942, *EZ.* I. 76, et seq.). The Convention of 1815 specifies *radalaṭṭa*, *mudali*, and *raṭṭe*. NN, 6, describes holders of subordinate offices as *raṭṭe āttō* or *payindapēruva*.

21. Hocart (1952), 61. cf. also the *List of Family Names &c.* (1869).

22. cf. Denham (1911).

is an affront and shame to them either Men or Women, to be called by those Names. Which they say is to be like unto Dogs. Then they change their Names into Titles according to the Town wherein they were born or do dwell. Also they have other Names, which may be compared to Coats of Arms, properly and only belonging to that Family : by which likewise they are called."<sup>23</sup> Occasionally descriptive personal names continued to be used in later years, the commonest being Loku (big), Mādduma (middle), Kuḍā, Tikiri, or Dingiri (small), Sudu or Ratu (fair), Hīn (lean), Ran (gold), Kiri (milk), and these usually preceded an honorific, e.g., Loku-rāḷa, Tikiri-baṇḍā, Kiri-hāmi, but they were more often than not superseded by titular and place names.

The term *vasagama* was loosely used to include village, *paṭabāṇḍi*, and other names. The village name served to indicate a man's place of origin or domicile, and the names of celebrated chiefs like Migastānne, Piḷima Talavva, and Āhālēpoḷa, were really village names. Most *paṭabāṇḍi* names indicate that they were originally conferred for conspicuous military exploits (e.g., Jayasūriya or "Sun of Victory," Vikramasūriya or "Sun of Conquest,"<sup>24</sup>) and the possession of several such names marked a person of distinguished lineage. Scions of a man honoured with a *paṭabāṇḍi* title such as Sūriyasēkera Mudiyānsē, would convert it into a patronymic and call themselves Sūriyasēkera Mudiyānsēlāgē, "descended from Sūriyasēkera Mudiyānsē." Since such names raised a man in social esteem, they were jealously guarded against usurpation by others, for they served as patents of pedigree and rank. Descendants of a celebrated ancestor, real or mythical, would sometimes group themselves into a clan, e.g., the descendants of Ruvan, one of those who accompanied the sacred Bo-tree two centuries before the Christian Era.<sup>25</sup> Further, the *vasagama* might include the name of a "house" (*gedara*)<sup>26</sup> or even a man's official status (e.g., *āracci*).

In general, *goyigama* people were entitled to services from the "low castes,"<sup>27</sup> but among the low castes too an individual of one caste

23. Knox (1681), 151.

24. cf. Reimers (1930).

25. cf. *Villages in Mātālē* (1887) for numerous instances of such "local descent groups."

26. The *gedara* name is equivalent to the low-country *gē* name, but must be distinguished from the ending *lāgē* in *Vidānalāgē*, *Mudiyānsēlāgē*, &c., which *gē* signifies belongingness to a group ("of the Mudiyānsēs,") the possessive form.

27. Certain North-Central villages had their *toṭvilkārayō* or village servants such as the blacksmith, washerman, potter &c. These are distinct from *toṭvilkārayō* (drummers &c.) who perform on ritual occasions. In late Kandyan times there was a group of "five *nayide* castes"—*ācārī* (smiths), *baḍahālayō* (potters), *maḍinnō* (toddy-drawers), *karāve* (fishers), and *marakkalayō* (Moor-men). They were probably so grouped because they performed certain essential services (cf. Parker. 1910. 5).



would serve people of higher caste than his own. Thus the *radavō* or washermen served those of higher caste than potters, while a distinct caste (*paliyō*) washed for those lower than potters. Hocart has pointed out that the organization of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy reflects the bifurcation of the population into high caste and low, and tallies with the supposed unrealities of the ancient texts. "All those that officiate inside the sanctuary are farmers. It is significant that the drummers who play in the courtyard are low, but the singers who come and sing on the balcony of the sanctuary are farmers. These singers accompany themselves with drum, tambourines and cymbals. Evidently it is not the drum that is the cause of lowness. Authority lies with the farmers, menial duties with the low castes. Thus the cook is a farmer, his scullion a member of the so-called cook caste. The watchers are cooks, but the sergeant of the watch is a farmer." <sup>28</sup>

In everyday life too the "good people" required the "low castes" to perform a variety of menial services and tailors, barbers, potters, washermen, cooks, drummers, potters, and weavers, were all of low caste. But their services were not necessarily menial functions which the "good people" disdained to perform as such. High-caste women would amuse themselves around a drum (*rabāna*) on festive occasions, but no *goyigama* man would handle a ceremonial drum at a temple. It is the context in which drumming is performed that makes all the difference. The "good people" may drum for their own pleasure, put on masks and dance, but they did so only in play and would never wear a mask or dance in a demon ceremony. The official drummers did not merely entertain; they were politely addressed as "astrologers" (*nākatī minissu*) <sup>29</sup> and played an important role in planetary (*bali*) <sup>30</sup> and exorcising ceremonies. They were demon-priests, their drumming and dancing being connected with the rituals pertaining to death, disease, and decay.

Examples of quasi-sacrificial functions performed by the low castes can be multiplied. The washerman, for instance, is a *sine qua non* in ceremonies connected with the crises of life in all high-caste households. He provided the linen at birth, first menstruation of girls, marriage, and death. Knox tells us that "so long as the Women have their Infirmities or Flowers upon them, they are accounted very unclean, insomuch that the very house is polluted in that degree that none will approach near it. And even she herself cares not to conceal it, but calls out them that come near, that they may avoid her house." <sup>31</sup> The superstitious awe of menstrual

28. Hocart (1952), 25-26.

29. cf. de Alwis (1856).

30. *Yakun-naṭṭanavā* expresses the current mentality: "The principal thing for this country and the Sinhalese is the worship of planets."

31. Knox (1681), 150.

blood was such that the "good people" took scrupulous care to avoid contaminating themselves, and at the first menses of a girl, the *koṭṭahalu* or "short-cloth" rites required the washermen, one of whose titles was *koṭṭahaluvē* ("he of the short-cloth,") to provide clean clothes for which service he received, among other gifts, the girl's soiled apparel. <sup>32</sup> The laundress was called in to deal with the pollution of birth, and on such occasions this key functionary was politely addressed as *ridi-nānda* ("aunt-washer.") In view of the washerman's indispensability in all ceremonies connected with the crises of life, it is not surprising that he was in a superior bargaining position and enjoyed many privileges. <sup>33</sup> A marriage ceremony was not complete until he formally declared that he was satisfied with the fee paid him, and he could name his price if he desired vengeance on his masters. <sup>34</sup>

Certain privileges were also claimed by other low castes whose services were indispensable. Thus the potters were not entitled to wear their cloth below the knee, nor to sit on stools, "But they have this Privilege, because they make the Pots, that when they are athirst being at a *hānduru's* House, they may take his Pot, which hath a Pipe to it, and pour the Water into their mouths themselves: which none other of these inferior degrees may be admitted to do: but they must hold their hands to their mouths and gape, and the *hāndurus* themselves will pour the Water in. The Potters were at first denied this Honour, upon which they jointly agreed to make Pots with Pipes only for themselves, and would sell none to the *hāndurus* that wanted; whereat being constrained, they condescended to grant them the Honour above other inferior People, that they should have the favour to drink out of these Pots with spouts at their Houses." <sup>35</sup>

In India every occupation had a priestly character, and Hocart sees a survival of the idea that the smith was not so much the man who did the forging, as the master of ceremonies that ensured success in the operation, in Knox's classic account of the hauteur of these artisans in their dealings with their avowed superiors:

"... they come in an humble manner to the Smith with a Present, being Rice, Hens, and other sorts of Provision, or a Bottle of Rack, desiring him to appoint his time, when they shall come to have their work done. Which when he hath appointed them, they come at the set time, and bring both Coals and Iron with them. The Smith sits very gravely upon his Stool, his Anvil before him, with his left hand towards the Forge, and a little Hammer in his right. They themselves who come with their work must blow the Bellows, and when the Iron is to be beaten with the great Maul, he holds it, still sitting upon

32. cf. *koṭṭahalupota*. Also Hocart (1927).

33. cf. the proverb, *strīgē vagatuga gamē apullana radavā danī*, (The village washerman knows the matters and affairs of the women).

34. cf. Nevill (1887).

35. Knox (1681), 109.



his Stool, and they must hammer it themselves, he only with his little Hammer knocking it sometimes into fashion. And if it be any thing to be filed, he makes them go themselves and grind it upon a Stone, that his labour of filing may be the less; and when they have done it as well as they can, he goes over it again with his file and finisheth it.<sup>36</sup>

The "caste system" was far from being a clearly defined hierarchy in which the various castes were graded in an immutable order of precedence. While there was no doubt as to the superiority of the "good people," there was no unanimity regarding the precise status of some of the low castes.<sup>37</sup> There may have been historical changes in status and role, as when the potters gained for themselves the exclusive privilege of handling the pots of the *hānduru*. In the mid-seventeenth century the *navandannō* were rated as the principal low caste,<sup>38</sup> but in Davy's list compiled a century and a half later, the fisher folk lead the low castes, although their precedence was not yet undisputed, for the smiths "occupied, according to some, the first rank among the low castes."<sup>39</sup> It is interesting that Knox does not even mention the fisher caste in his account of "their Honours and Ranks," for these people were resident in Dutch territory outside the jurisdiction of the Kings of Kandy. But in late Kandyan times this *karāve* caste which was so long reckoned low because, "engaged in killing fish, they were sinning,"<sup>40</sup> gained prestige as purveyors of salt and dried fish to the kings, and those of them who escaped from the Littoral to reside in the interior were drafted into the *maḍigē* or transport department which assumed a new importance on account of the Dutch blockade.

The relations between members of two castes were defined by custom and social usage, and the "social distance" between different castes varied enormously. The gradations of inter-caste regulations were subtle indeed. *Goyigama* people did not scruple to toil in fields belonging to *hakuru* families, but they would on no account have meals in the low caste proprietors' houses.<sup>41</sup> Dress was regulated on caste lines: the *roḍiyas* could have no clothing above waist, while the potters could not wear their cloths below the knee. *Padu* and *beravāyo* could not wear beards nor *koṇḍa*, while *hakuru*,

36. Knox (1681), 108.

37. The sort of caste controversy which the mental climate of the later nineteenth century made possible, would have been unthinkable in Kandyan times and even if a specific low caste claimed descent from some illustrious ancestors, its members would not have dared even to whisper that they were superior to the "good people." But in the late nineteenth century *karāve* pamphleteers, sheltering beneath the umbrage of Democracy, claimed to be second to none—not even the "good people" cf. G. A. Dharmaratna, *The Kara-Goi Contest, with an Appeal to the House of Lords*. (Galle: 1890).

38. Knox (1681), 107.

39. Davy (1821), 112.

40. *Janavamsa*.

41. cf. *R. vs. Appuralla*, BJC, 9-10-1816, (CGA 23/1).

*durāve* and *halāgama* castes could not wear beards nor *ohori*, but may wear *koṇḍa*.<sup>42</sup> Again, rules of commensality were rigidly observed at wedding feasts and other ceremonial occasions. Forms of address differed according to caste and rank—at one extreme the *roḍiyas* would address the "good people" with extravagant titles such as "god" or "majesty," but in other cases the appropriate honorific and pronominal form had to be judiciously chosen from a number of alternatives. "They have seven or eight words for Thou, or You, which they apply to persons according to their quality, or according as they would honour them. And they are *Tō*, *Topi*, *Umba*, *Umbalā*, *Tamunnāhe*, *Tamusē*, *Tamusēla*, *Tamunnānsē*. All these words are gradually one higher than the other."<sup>43</sup>

Men of high rank used the honorifics *appu* or *hāmi*, and if holding high office, *rāla*. A petty headman was styled *vidāna*, but the title was qualified if he was of low caste, e.g. *vidāna hēnayā* (washerman), *vidāna durayā* (*padu*). These distinctions were important, and on one occasion reference to a *vidāna* as "muhandiram rāla" betrayed the falsity of a deed claiming title to land. The expressions applied to women ranged from *poḍissī*, for a woman of the lowest condition, and *kiḍahakeli*, "a term of more respect applied to a wench,"<sup>44</sup> to *etana*, *lama-etanā*, and *kumārikāmi*, which last was applied only to the highest ladies. The low castes also had their titles and honorifics, and according to Knox the names of those below the rank of elephant people (*kuruve āttō*) ended in *ajja*.<sup>45</sup> A washerman could be identified by the name *pēdigē*, whilst *ācāri* distinguished a smith.

But it was in marriage that the regulations of caste were most evident, and besides caste endogamy, even ranks within a caste sometimes refrained from marrying into an inferior family of the same caste. The taboo on inter-caste marriages did not however apply so strictly to all sexual relations, and the principle of hypergamy—the tendency on the part of women of lower castes to become concubines<sup>46</sup> of men of exalted caste—which was extensively practised, did not escape Knox's vigilant eye:

42. D'Oyly's *Diary*, 16-6-1812.

43. Knox (1681), 168. Also Queyroz (1697). It may be noted that the plural forms *umbala*, *tamusēla*, are considered "higher" than the corresponding singulars. *umba*, *tamusē*.

44. Knox (1681).

45. *Ibid*, 111.

46. Besides concubinage there were exceptional cases of regular marriage. Thus, in Kāgalla district, *halāgama* men will marry women from *vahumpura* families, but not *vice versa* (cf. Denham. 1911. 327). Similarly men of the *goyigama* caste proper would marry women from the *nīlamakkārayā* sub-caste, but a man of the latter was not allowed to take a wife from the former "though it is occasionally done and winked at" (Davy, 1821. 114-115). This last is a very rare case of *hypogamy*, that is, women marrying below their caste.



'It is not accounted any shame or fault for a Man of the highest sort to lay with a Woman far inferior to himself, nay of the very lowest degree, provided he neither eats nor drinks with her, nor takes her home to his House, as a Wife. But if he should, which I never knew done, he is punished by the Magistrate, either by Fine or Imprisonment, or both, and also he is utterly eluded from his Family, and accounted thenceforward of the same rank and quality, that the Woman is of, whom he hath taken. If the Woman be married already, with whom the Man of better rank lies, and the Husband come and catch them together; how low soever the one be and high the other, he may kill him, and her too, if he please.'

... 'And if any of the Females should be so deluded, as to commit folly with one beneath her self, if ever she should appear to the sight of her Friends, they would certainly kill her, there being no other way to wipe off the dishonour she hath done the Family, but by her own Blood.'<sup>47</sup>

As recently as 1817 a case was reported of a *hakuru* girl who had been raped by a *paduva*, and was advised by her sister to hang herself, but refused to obey. Thereupon a member of the family, with the consent of all her relatives, stabbed her to death and her corpse was left unattended for three months. The explanation of the relatives, when brought to trial, was that "it is the custom of the country [to expiate] the disgrace befalling our family. Until the murder, we were disgraced into the *paduva* caste. No *hakuru* would eat or admit us into their company. The stain is now wiped away and they will admit us into the privileges of our caste."<sup>48</sup>

It has been suggested that the ultimate source of hypergamy is to be sought in the possessive attitude of the male towards the opposite sex. It is not that women are less venturesome than men, but that the fair sex is more jealously controlled and protected.<sup>49</sup> As for the sharp distinction made between marriage with low caste women which was prohibited, and informal coitus, which was connived at, the explanation probably is that rationale of marriage was considered to be the consummation of a *ritual* union of the two sexes, as distinct from casual intercourse for pleasure, copulation between unmarried people having no ritual value.<sup>50</sup> It is no doubt for this reason that hospitality to intimate friends or great men who chanced to lodge at a man's house was such that "they commonly will send their Wives or Daughters to bear them Company in their Chamber."<sup>51</sup> In late Kandyan times, when the ritual of marriage was much relaxed, and it was not always easy to distinguish wedlock from concubinage, hypergamy came to be frowned on, at least in Court

47. Knox (1681), 105-106.

48. In *R. vs. Madumaya, a Hakuru of Saffragam*, BJC, 20-11-1817, (CGA 23/3).

49. cf. R. E. Park, *Race and Culture*, (Glencoe, 1950), 134-135.

50. For this reason modern legal systems persist in making bigamy a heinous crime, since it desecrates the ritual union. But there is no criminal sanction against adultery.

51. Knox (1681), 148. The euphemism for this "hospitality" was *navā-tānhirē*.

circles, and Migastānne Adhikārama was reprimanded by the King for keeping a concubine of the *beravāyo* caste, and the woman was flogged and sent across the river, and thus banished from Kandy.<sup>52</sup>

52. D'Oyly (1835), 130.



## II

## THE SECULARIZATION OF CASTE

EVEN if the caste system may to some extent have been divorced from the sacrificial foundations which lent it force and validity, its ideas had taken sufficient root in men's minds to acquire, as it were, a self-generating momentum which rendered its ideology beyond reproach.<sup>53</sup> But although the process of secularization did tend to uproot caste from its sacrificial base, the institution of caste was consolidated and legitimated through the medium of the entire apparatus of a strong central government. The priestly character of the artisan's work was lost sight of when the state decreed that the inhabitants of each village must go to their own smith, and to none else, and "that Smith is liable to pay Dammages that should do work for any in another Smith's Jurisdiction."<sup>54</sup>

The mythological exposition of the origin of caste which has been set forth at the outset of this chapter, associated caste with the first king and law-giver. Such an idea persists in the minds of the Sinhalese villagers who believe that it was the mythical King Mahasammata who decreed that the drummers were to perform in demon ceremonies.<sup>55</sup> Here again the apparently unreal legend allegorizes empirical reality, for in Kandyan times it was considered the lawful function of the king to ordain appropriate functions to various castes: he could also degrade certain villages or families of high caste to a lower status, and there are certain degraded *gattara* villages in existence to this day.<sup>56</sup> The caste system thus acquired a certain flexibility, and certain groups of persons performing specialized functions became, in effect, separate castes—the *halāgama* people, for instance, were weavers imported from India some seven hundred years ago.<sup>57</sup>

That the process of secularization was accompanied by increasing specialization is well illustrated in the case of the *raṭṭe āttō* or *goyigama* people. They were, first and foremost, cultivators, liable to pay a grain-tax (*kada-rājakāriya*). They also constituted, by and large,

the militia of the kingdom, and were required to attend in arms as often as summoned by the king in time of war.<sup>58</sup> It is an interesting fact that even the *vāddās* were deemed to belong to the *goyigama* caste, and assisted the king in wartime, and in an expedition against the Dutch "with their Bows and Arrows did as good service as any of the rest."<sup>59</sup> In time, however, specialized contingents such as the *maḍuve* regiments were formed to augment the regular mercenaries, and the rest of the caste was sub-divided into service-groups attached to "departments" charged with specific civilian services. Thus the *atapattu* people of the provinces who held the first rank, attended the *disāvas* for guard duty, and as messengers, subject to the orders of an *atapattu lēkam* and several *āraccīs*, while the *gamvasam* people were responsible for provisioning officials on circuit.

All but a few of the "low castes" were attached to a state "department" (*badda*) associated with a specific occupation, and most of the low castes had the term *badda* appended to their caste-names. At times, a few families of a caste constituted a separate department. The chief of each department had the power to mobilize the members of the caste constituting the department, but generally some were exempted on payment of a fee. As recompense for their services, the people held lands. The following were the chief departments:

THE KOTTALBADDA OR ARTIFICER'S DEPARTMENT<sup>60</sup>

This department was formed in each province of the Kandyan kingdom from persons of the *navandannō* caste. In the *uḍa rata* the principal *navandannō* families were descended from Pandyan and other Indian craftsmen settled by the kings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to the *Janavamsa* the caste had two great divisions:—*ācāri* or metal-workers, and *vaḍuvō* or wood and stone workers. Under the Kandyan government the caste was further subdivided, as follows:

58. cf. ante 3 (II).

59. Even in the twelfth century the chronicles mention the *vyāddhas* as components of Parākrama Bāhu's army (*Civ*), 69.20), and the word is probably the Pāli equivalent of the modern *Vāddā*. (Geiger, 1938a). According to Knox (1681), 100, "the tamer sorts" paid elephant's tusks, honey, wax, and deer's flesh to the king, if they could be found by the royal officers. Even in late Kandyan times the *vāddās* were liable to *rājakāriya*, and some hundred years ago petitioned to be exempted from service under the Road Ordinance, on account of their migratory habits (cf. Petition of 6-11-1850 filed in the Kacheheri Records, Kandy CGA 18/9).

60. Sources: D'Oyly (1835), 12-13; Davy (1821), 124; Knox (1681); and Codrington (1909).

53. For this thesis cf. R. Pieris, "Ideological Momentum and Social Equilibrium" (*Amer. J. Sociol.*, LVIII/4. 1952).

54. Knox (1681), 108.

55. Hocart (1950), 51.

56. cf. Lawrie (1898), II. 708-709.

57. cf. Johnston (1835), Pieris (1952).



1. *ācāri* or *gurunnāhēla*, blacksmiths.
2. *baḍallu*, gold and silversmiths.
3. *galgānnō*, stone-polishers.
4. *galvaḍuvō*, stone-cutters.
5. *hittaru* (*sittaru*), painters.
6. *ī-vaḍuvō*, lacquerers of arrow and spear shafts, fan handles &c.
7. *liyana-vaḍuvō*, turners of ivory and buffalo horns.
8. *lōkuruwō*, brassfounders.
9. *vaḍuvō*, carpenters.

The gold and silversmiths, including painters and workers in ivory and brass, but not brassfounders, were known as *gamladdō* or *galladdō* and held first rank in the caste, the name being derived from lands held by royal grant. For these lands, the silversmiths provided silver chunam boxes and rings to the *gabaḍāva*. Blacksmiths supplied areca cutters, bill-hooks, and cocoanut-scrapers (*hiramaṇa*) to the royal stores. All were bound to work without payment when required, the carpenters and stone cutters alone being entitled to *pāhidum*. Persons of this and certain other low castes were addressed with the honorific *naide*.<sup>61</sup> The men of the *navandannō* caste were entitled to wear their cloths below the knee, and the women the *ohoriya* or cloth thrown over the shoulder, but separate from the regular cloth.

There was in each province of the kingdom, a department known as *koṭṭalbadda* composed of smiths of various classes. The department was once highly centralized and two main branches were placed under separate chiefs, namely the *uḍa-raṭa koṭṭalbadde nilamē*, and the *pāta-raṭa koṭṭalbadde nilamē*. Latterly however there were provincial *koṭṭalbadu* headed by the *disāvas* who appointed a *vidāna* of either *goyigama* or smith caste. In each province the specialized branches of the *koṭṭalbadu* had separate headmen (e.g., *mulacāriyo* over the carpenters, *muhandirams* over the silversmiths, and *hangidiyō* and *ata-hangadiyō* over the blacksmiths). The provincial *koṭṭalbadu* provided artificers for public buildings, or for any work ordered by the *disāva*. Certain persons of the *koṭṭalbadu* were attached to *gabaḍāgam*.

The palace was manned by a close corporation of gold and silver-smiths known as the *paṭṭal-hatarē* or the four workshops, all others being styled *gam-navan minissu* or village smiths. Originally there was only one workshop called the *ābharana paṭṭalē*, but this was latterly differentiated into :

61. In documents of late Kandyan times there are repeated references to "the five *naide* castes." They probably comprise the artisan castes, including smiths and potters.

1. *ābharana paṭṭalē*, ornaments or jewellery workshop.
2. *oṭunu paṭṭalē*, crown workshop.
3. *ran-kaḍu paṭṭalē*, golden sword workshop.
4. *sinhāsane paṭṭalē*, throne workshop, including painters and workers in ivory.

Four *mulācariyō*, one from each *paṭṭalē*, were in attendance at the palace, and wore a special uniform.

#### THE MAḌIGĒ OR TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT

This department, occasionally placed under the *disāve* of Four Kōraḷēs, was frequently assigned to a separate chief nominated by the king and styled *maḍigē disāva*. The latter appointed a *vidāna* under him. The *maḍigē* personnel were of two classes :

1. Fisher caste people (*karāve*) who held service lands. Each person holding one *amuṇam* of land was bound to furnish one pack-bullock for transporting government stores. The lands of the headmen (*gammāhēs*) alone were exempt, but they performed other service. Each bullock carried annually to the *maha gabaḍāva* one *gōni* or gunny-bag containing forty measures of salt, and one *karavaḷa* or salted fish, and two *karavaḷa* for the chief. Persons of this department were commissioned to trade arecanuts for the king : an advance of 300 *ridis* was issued from the Treasury for the purchase of 50 *amuṇams* of arecanut, and the *maḍigē* bullocks conveyed it to Ruvanvālla, where the areca was sold for the Colombo market. The profits were handed into the Treasury, less commission. The *maḍigē* were required also to transport grain from the royal villages receiving one *lāha* for each bullock-load.
2. The *hulanbadda maḍigē* (from *hulan*, lit, wind, unsettled) was composed of Moormen (*marakkala*). They had no service lands, only small fields brought into cultivation from the estates of others. "Hence they are called on to perform very little service, but having Bullocks are not entirely exempt."<sup>62</sup> They were frequently commissioned to trade for the king with money furnished from the treasury. In late Kandyan times, probably on account of military manoeuvres, they were liable to unlimited calls of the government for service of their cattle, as well as tributes of salt and *karavaḷa* obtained at their own expense from the Littoral and delivered free of all cost to the crown at the royal stores in Kandy, for which service "permission to reside in the Kandyan country was deemed sufficient compensation."<sup>63</sup>

62. D'Oyly (1835), 17.

63. BC., Kurunāgala 10-6-1818 (CGA 543).



The *hulanbadda muhandirams* and *lākams* paid a fee of five *ridīs* each to the *maḍigē disāva* for their appointments, and one or two *ridīs* to the *vidāna*. There were fourteen *gammāhēs* who paid an annual sum of fifty *ridīs* each (*paṇḍuru mīla*) to the *disāva*, and also furnished provisions gratuitously for him and his messengers when they were on circuit. The *gammāhēs* also attended the *disāva* in his official journeys, and sometimes conveyed his messages, but performed no transport service.

#### BAḌAHĀLBADDA OR POTTER'S DEPARTMENT

The potters were organized under a *vidāna* of their own caste appointed by the *disāva* of each province. The potters of Four Kōraḷēs, the *uḍa raṭa* collectively, Ūva, and Mātālē, were divided into two divisions in each province: there being ten divisions in all, each division attended at the *maha gabaḍāva* in Kandy in rotation for a month at a time, each division thus appearing once in ten months. The *baḍahālayō* made tiles, bricks, and earthen vessels for the royal stores, and performed any other potters' work required of them by the king. Each division, after its turn of duty, supplied one hundred earthen pots to the *disāva's* house. Besides, in the provinces, they provided tiles, bricks, and pots for the *disāva*, and pottery for the resthouses when the king was on circuit in their district.

#### RADĀBADDA OR WASHER'S DEPARTMENT

The washermen were under orders of a *vidāna-hēnaya* who was appointed with authority over the washermen of each *kōraḷē*. Working in shifts of three months, they were responsible for furnishing clean linen for temporary use by palace servants, hung up white cloth in the royal stores and palace, and furnished torches, and rags for lamp-wicks. In the provinces they were bound to provide cloth for the *disāva's* house, for resthouses temporarily erected for the reception of the king or the *disāva*, and in houses prepared for the reception of the *atapattu mohottāla* and the *kōraḷas*. They provided cloth in this manner in consideration of the emoluments consisting of cloth, paddy, and money, which they received from the people of their districts up to the degree of potters, whom they served, but none below that caste.<sup>64</sup> "Their usual Posture is to carry a Cloth over their Shoulder, both Men and Women."<sup>65</sup> Washermen were alternatively known as *hēnayo* or *pēḍiyō*.<sup>66</sup>

64. According to Knox (1681) the washers were below the smiths, elephant people, barbers, and potters. Davy (1821) places the washers below the fishermen, toddy-drawers, smiths, tailors, potters, and barbers. Both agree that the barbers washed for none lower than the potters. The *pālī* caste were washermen to the castes inferior to the *radābadda*.

65. Knox (1681), 110.

66. cf. the caste appellation *pēḍigē* in the *Satara Kōraḷē Maha Lēkam Miṭṭiya*.

Washermen from Valapanē were sent by the *disāva* to serve in rotation at the *palle vāhala gabaḍāva*, and from Mātālē, Yaṭinuvara, Hārispattu, Hevāhāta, and Dumbara to serve the *haluvadāna nīlamē* at the palace. The palace *hēnayo* worked in shifts consisting of five persons under a chief known as *gurunnānse* who entered the *ātul vāhala* to receive the washing. They received rice from the royal stores, and pots provided by the potters while on duty.

#### HANDABADDA

There is little information regarding this department. Davy includes a caste known as *handi* in his list, commenting that they were few in number and were required to furnish the royal stores with baskets and winnows.<sup>67</sup> D'Oyly states that six families of Four Kōraḷēs belonged to the *handbadda*: "These are an inferior Class of Carpenters of only 6 families under the Orders of a *Vidāna*. Their Duty consists in furnishing for the Public Festivals in Kandy a fixed number of Couches, Stools, and Baskets of various kinds woven with Rattans, and besides, as many baskets as may be occasionally be demanded for the King's or *Disāva's* Service. They deliver these Articles to the *Disāva*, who sends them to the proper Department in Kandy."<sup>68</sup>

#### THE KURUVĒ OR ELEPHANT DEPARTMENT

This department was manned by people of the *pannayā* caste who had their own headmen styled *durayās*. The chief of the Department was either *disāva* of Four Kōraḷēs, or a separate chief of rank appointed by the king and called *kuruvē lēkam*. The *disāva* or *lēkam* appoints a *vidāna* and under him were three *kankānams* who conveyed orders to the rank and file. The *kuruvē* department captured and tamed elephants, and cared for the king's herd. There were specialized personnel attached to the department: the *galladoo* took care of decoy elephants used in capturing wild ones, and the *pannikalē* assisted in driving the elephants into the *kraal* or enclosure.

#### HUNUBADDA

This department, contrary to Davy, was one of composite caste. Besides the people of the *hunu* caste, there were several *raṭē āttō* attached to the department: fourteen of the sixteenth *hunugānno* who made chunam plaster for the walls and floors of state buildings and whitewashed the palace, were *raṭē* people, and only two of low caste. The *hunubadda* was in charge of a *hunubadda nīlamē*. The people held lands, and paid a land-tax in money, and brought lime

67. Davy (1821), 129.

68. D'Oyly (1835), 14.



and charcoal to the stores. When engaged in plastering &c. they received rice from the royal stores.<sup>69</sup>

#### BERAVĀBADDA OR MAHABADDA

This department was composed of persons of the *beravāyō* caste. "They are weavers by trade, and had to pay a tax in money for their lands, supply the royal stores monthly with vegetables, provide wooden gutters of the *kitul-gaha*, and, in some districts, furnish a certain quantity of cloth of their own making. Particular families have lands for beating the tom-tom, dancing and piping, &c. at the great festivals; and others have portions of church-lands, for performing at temples." (Davy).

#### KINNARABADDA

This small caste was organized into a department whose service was to provide the royal stores ropes and mats. The men and women of this low caste could not wear anything on their heads, nor wear their cloths below their knees.

There were a number of castes which did not constitute separate departments, such as the *hannali* or tailors, the *ambāṭṭayō* or barbers, the *hakuru* (*vahumpura*) or cooks, the *oli* who performed at planetary ceremonies making the *bali* images and dancing, the *pali* or washers to the low castes below the potters, the *pannayō* or grasscutters, the *paduvās* (*batgamayō*) "who, for their lands, besides paying a pecuniary tax, had to perform a variety of low services, as to build walls, and thatch the roofs of houses, carry loads, bring wood and ornaments for arches, bear jingals in processions &c."<sup>70</sup> and finally the *roḍi* outcastes who were professional beggars and jugglers, begging with so much importunity "as if they had a Patent for it from the King and will not be denied."<sup>71</sup> Most of these non-departmental castes owed some service or dues to the state: even the *roḍi* made ropes of cows that died of natural causes, and supplied them to the royal stores for the catching of elephants.<sup>72</sup>

Although an individual was born into a particular caste from which he could never escape, the system as a whole was not inflexible. Certain caste services were ill-defined, and families of a specific caste might be assigned to a new department, if need arose. Thus in the low-country the *halāgama* people, originally weavers were attached to the cinnamon department, the caste being consequently sub-divided according to the division of labour in the

69. Davy (1821), 127. D'Oyly (1835), 139.

70. Davy (1821), 127-128.

71. Knox (1681), 113.

72. *Loc cit.*

cinnamon industry (e.g., peelers). The prestige of whole castes, or of particular families within a caste was liable to change. Specialization of function led to differentiation and changes in prestige of groups within a caste. Thus the *gahalagambadayō* constituted an inferior sub-caste of the *pannayō*, and were prohibited from eating and marrying with the rest, and performed the meanest services such as scavenging and removing dead bodies.<sup>73</sup> The service system created a number of caste "departments" which mobilized the labour of each caste on a territorial basis, and facilitated the collection of dues. In fact, the term *badda* was used in three senses: (i) rent or tax, (ii) a body of tax-payers, (iii) the territory occupied by them.<sup>74</sup> Although caste was thus secularized and uprooted from its sacrificial foundations, it was at the same time legitimated by the state and given a new lease of life.

73. Davy (1821), 128.

74. Codrington (1938), 47.



### III SLAVERY

NĪTI-NIGHANDUVA classifies slaves (*dāsayō*) as follows :<sup>75</sup>

1. *Antojāto* : born and bred in the same family for generations.
2. *Dhanakkīto* : purchased from their parents or masters. A formal deed was necessary to enslave a dependent child. A child who earned his own living, even by begging, could not be sold into slavery by his parents.
3. *Karamarānito* : stolen from a foreign country ; captives of war taken by kings ; women who having been expelled from their families for losing their caste, have become the property of the king.
4. *Sāmaṇ Dāsaviyopagato* : slaves who for their livelihood or protection, of their own accord, agree for a certain sum to become slaves ; those who steal the property of others, or burn the house of granary of others and, unable to pay compensation to the injured party, become their slaves ; persons who borrow money and cannot pay principal and interest, become slaves of their creditors. Thus in Kīrti Sī's reign a penurious woman stole a cake of jaggery, and being unable to pay its value, the king decreed that she should be handed over to the owner of the stolen property as a slave, and the children she bore were born slaves on account of their mother's petty delinquency.<sup>76</sup>

A master had the right of punishing his slaves without judgment or sanction from higher authority, and even if slaves were tortured, they were obliged to submit, having no redress from the capricious tyranny of their masters. On one occasion a slave girl at Vatte-gama *valava* bore a number of children but as she had too much to do in taking care of her master's younger children, her own, to the number of eight, were buried soon after birth by order of her master, but after the master's children had grown up she had four children whom she was allowed to bring up.<sup>77</sup> Legally, short of deprivation of life and limb, a master had the power to chastise his

75. NN, 7-12.

76. *Dehetennegedere Kiri Etena vs. Ratgatte Muhandiram Rala*, BJC, 1-9-1824. (CGA. 23/13).

77. BJC, 296-18-29 (Lawrie Mss., III).

slave, and could even put him to torture with a red-hot iron. It was this liability to severe treatment that distinguished a slave from a free person who voluntarily attached himself to a noble's household. Indeed, the fact that a person uncomplainingly submitted to such harsh chastisement without asserting his freedom and independence by quitting the service of so cruel a master, was strong evidence presumptive of slavery.<sup>78</sup> A master was free to sell or gift his slaves.<sup>79</sup> If a slave robbed another person's property, the master must either hand over the slave to the injured party, or make good that loss.<sup>80</sup>

But the *de facto* position of slaves was very different from the *de jure*, since masters seldom exercised their legal rights. "In no part of the world where slavery is tolerated are the rights of the master more leniently exercised than in this country, which is much to the credit and speaks highly of the humanity of the Chiefs who were the principal possessors."<sup>81</sup> Popular opinion was always in favour of mild treatment of slaves. It is recorded that the pious ninth century monarch Agrabōdhi VIII once addressed a servant with the word "slave," and to make up to him for it, the good king permitted the slave to address His Majesty with the same contemptuous epithet.<sup>82</sup> According to Knox, "it is very rare that they give a blow so much as to their Slaves ; who may very familiarly talk and discourse with their Masters."<sup>83</sup>

Slaves were generally treated more as adopted dependents of the family than as menials : "For whose maintenance, their Masters allow them Land and Cattle. Which many of them do so improve ; that except in Dignity they are not far behind their Masters, only they are not permitted to have Slaves. Their Masters will not diminish or take away ought, that by their Diligence and Industry they have procured,<sup>84</sup> but approve of it, as being Persons capable to repose trust in. And when they do buy or otherways get a new Slave, they presently provide him a Wife, and so put him forward to keep House, and settle, that he may not think of running away."<sup>85</sup>

78. Stated by the Chiefs in *Ellawala Muhandiram vs. Kettunge Ratu Ukku*, BJC, (appeal), 28-10-1824, (CGA. 23/13).

79. cf. a claim for 6 slaves valued 450 *ridi*, in *Amunugama late Lekam vs. Keppitipola Banda*, (Lawrie Mss). Many gifts of slaves are recorded in Lawrie (1898).

80. D'Oyly (1835), 127.

81. Per John Downing, Judicial Commissioner, in *Ireagama Tikiri Bandara vs. Rangwelle Nilame*, BJC, 11-12-1828, (CGA. 23/23).

82. *Civ.*, 49-62.

83. Knox (1681), 102.

84. Legally a master had no right over any property acquired independently of him by a slave, who could dispose of land or moveables by sale, gift or will (D'Oyly, 1835, 79).

85. Knox (1681), 111.



Such slaves were frequently called upon to be witnesses to legal transactions where their owners were concerned, and were on occasion even appointed petty headmen.<sup>86</sup> An opulent chief having too many slaves to maintain at his *valavva* might settle some on his remote *nindagam*, or allow a few of them to quit his service and earn their own livelihood, in which case they acquired a prescriptive right to freedom.<sup>87</sup> Such owners would not even trouble to retrieve absconding slaves.<sup>88</sup>

Most of the slaves in the kingdom were of high caste, and many of those who were originally free retained their distinctive caste appellatives, e.g., the feminine title *etena*, since a person did not lose caste by becoming a slave.<sup>89</sup> Generally no low caste man could have a slave,<sup>90</sup> and "the only people of inferior caste who possess slaves are the goldsmiths, they having been presented to some of the petty chiefs and workmen by the late king : but these slaves though not of superior caste to the goldsmiths are very impatient of this thralldom to them."<sup>91</sup> If a low caste man did acquire the right of taking a *goyigama* man into slavery on account of the latter's delinquency or insolvency, a chief would generally buy the slave.

A child of a female slave was born a slave, and the fact that the father was a free man had no effect in emancipating the child. But if the slave girl married a free man, and she was allowed by her owner to remain with her husband for a length of time (say beyond the period of prescription for other civil rights), without asserting his proprietary rights by directing her services or imposing restraints or claiming her children as his property, prescriptive freedom may be pleaded, even though her emancipation may not have been formally declared.<sup>92</sup> On the other hand, a free woman marrying a slave, retained her freedom, nor were her children born slaves.<sup>93</sup> Freedom was granted by a certificate of emancipation, or by pouring water on the slave's hands and declaring him free in the presence of witnesses.<sup>94</sup>

There were 2,113 male and female slaves in the Kandyan provinces, according to a census taken in 1829.<sup>95</sup>

86. Davy (1821), 184.

87. In 1837 it was held that a slave gained his liberty after six years. (Lawrie 1896, 761).

88. *Ellawala Muhandiram's case*, cited supra.

89. *Ibid.*

90. D'Oyly (1835), 126.

91. Savers, in Lawrie Mss.

92. *Kosgolle Naide vs. Kehelwatte Hena Lorele*, BJC. 25-11-1825, (CGA. 23/13).

93. D'Oyly (1835), 126.

94. NN.

95. D'Oyly (1835), 80.

## APPENDIX I

### TWO TABLES OF CASTE PRECEDENCE

Robert Knox

(1681)

Hānduru, Noblemen (of two grades, unspecified).  
Smiths (Goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, painters).  
Kuruvē-ättō, Elephant-men (reckoned equal with Smiths).  
Barbers.  
Potters.  
Radava, washers.  
Hangarammu, Jaggery-makers (i.e., hakuru, vahumpura).  
Paduvō.  
Weavers, (also astrologers, drummers, dancers).  
Kidiyō, Basket-makers.  
Kinnaru, Makers of fine mats.  
Roḍi.

John Davy

(1821)

#### I. Vaisaya-varṇsa.

1. Goyivamse, Cultivators (includes vāddās).
2. Nilamakkāra (Paṭṭi), Shepherds.

#### II. Sūdra-varṇsa.

1. Karāvē, Fishermen.
2. Chandos (i.e., durāve), Toddy-drawers.
3. Acāri, Smiths &c.
4. Hannali, Tailors.
5. Baḍahāla-baddā, Potters.
6. Ambāṭṭayō, Barbers.
7. Radā-badda, Washermen.
8. Hāli, Chalias, (i.e., halāgama).
9. Hakuru, Jaggery-makers.
10. Hunubadda, Chunam or Lime-burners.
11. Pannayō, Grass-cutters.
12. Villi-durayi (Nuvarakalaviya District).
13. Dodda Vāddās.
14. Padu (Padu, iron-smelters, executioners).
15. Berava-badda or Mahabadda, Tom-tom beaters.
16. Handi (furnished royal stores with baskets and winnows).
17. Pallaru.
18. Oli.
19. Radayō.
20. Pali (washermen of inferior castes below Potters).
21. Kinnarabadda.

#### III. Outcastes.

1. Gattaru.
2. Roḍi.



## APPENDIX II

### CASTE STATISTICS\*

	<i>Colombo</i>	<i>Galle</i>	<i>Tangalle</i>	<i>Chilaw</i>
<i>Goyigama</i>	107,501	28,673	45,769	9,557
Fishers	29,285	13,629	7,451	4,928
<i>Chandos</i>	9,056	2,533	7,280	786
Smiths	6,115	2,775	3,004	382
Potters	1,897	458	696	211
Barbers	587	155	263	252
Washers	6,216	1,656	3,316	839
<i>Chalias</i>	10,655	13,095	2,348	203
Tom-Tom beaters	1,974	—	2,646	—
<i>Hakuru</i>	6,538	2,012	1,846	—
Chunam-burners	2,107	827	473	—
<i>Pannayō</i>	435	—	—	—
<i>Patchies (Padu)</i>	5,045	—	—	—
<i>Hinnā**</i>	1,543	360	425	—
<i>Pali</i>	2	—	—	—
<i>Kinnaru</i>	6	25	16	—
<i>Oli</i>	608	608	639	—
<i>Gattaru</i>	1,095	1,095	—	—
<i>Hannali</i>	—	—	33	—
<i>Padu</i>	—	—	56	—
Weavers	—	—	—	501
Agampadies***	—	—	—	180
<i>Pallaru</i>	221	—	—	—
	189,597			

## PART SIX

## KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

\* Return of the Population of the Island of Ceylon, 27-1-1824 (Government Press, 1827).

\*\* Washers for the chalias.

\*\*\* A low-country tribe.



# I

## MARRIAGE

"AMONGST few people, I believe, are family attachments more strong and sincere : there is little to divert or weaken them," says Davy. "A family is the focus in which all the tender affections of a native are concentrated."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the kinship system, and the associated institutions of private law, regarded the family rather than the individual as the unit of society. And this key conception of the family as the true unit of society was all the more remarkable among a people who held the matrimonial contract so little obligatory that, in the words of an authority, it might be established with a wink and cancelled with a kick.<sup>2</sup> Knox found that "both women and men do commonly wed four or five times before they can settle themselves to their contentation," and his account of the laxity of sexual relations throws into relief a climate of opinion which made marriages of little force or validity :<sup>3</sup>

'The Men are not jealous of their Wives, for the greatest Ladies in the Land will frequently talk and discourse with any Men they please, altho their Husbands be in presence...

'Indeed here are no Public Whores allowed by Authority. In the City some that have followed that Trade, have oftentimes by the King's order been severely punished by Whipping, and having their Ears and Hair cut off. But in private few or none can exempt themselves. And for the matter of being with Child, which many of them do not desire, they very exquisitely can prevent the same.

'Indeed the Publick Trade would be bad, and hardly maintain them that exercised it, the private one being so great. And tho I think they be all Whores, yet they abhor the Name of Uesou, which is Whore. Neither do they in their anger reproach one another with it, unless they should lay with a Man of an inferior quality to themselves. And the Woman reckons herself as much obliged to the Man for his Company, as he does to her for hers. In these affairs the Women are very expert (it being their continual practice) to keep their design from the Husbands knowledge : tho by his own Experience he cannot be ignorant of Womens devices. And unless he catch them in the act he doth not trouble himself to prove himself a Cuckold ; Cuckolds being so common, that it is not here regarded.

'It is a Law here, that if a Man catch another in Bed with his Wife, he may, be it whatsoever, kill him and her, if he please. It hath so happened that the Man hath come to the Door, when another hath been within with his Wife, there being no way to escape, the Woman has took a pan of hot ashes, and

1. Davy (1821), 289.

2. Berwick (1870), 51.

3. Knox (1681), Pt. III. Ch. 7.



as she opened the Door, her husband being entring, cast them in his Eyes, and so she and her Bedfellow made an escape.<sup>4</sup>

'To fetch wood out of the Woods to burn, and to fetch home the Cattle is the Woman's work. If they cannot have their opportunities at home, now they appoint their meetings, while the Husband stays at home holding the Child. In the Evenings it is common for them with whom the Women be acquainted, to come and wait behind the House when it is dark to attend their coming forth to them. To which end they give them notice either by breaking of a stick, or by putting some Betel over the Wall to fall in such places as they have appointed, where she will look to find it. And when she has such notice, she cannot want an excuse to go forth to meet him.

'They bear such love to their Bedfellows, that I have known this done. The husband hath beset the House, and the Womans Friend in it, when she hath helped him to make a hole thro the Thatch to get out at, which he hath done to make his Escape, and she remain behind to suffer all the blame herself. When other opportunities are wanting to enjoy the Company of their Paramours whole Nights together, they usually take occasion to be discontented and fall out with their Husbands, and so go home to their Friends houses, to get longer enjoyments. Who to shew their Friendship will not hinder but further them in what they delight in.

'In some Cases the Men will permit their Wives and Daughters to lye with other Men. And that is, when intimate Friends or great Men chance to Lodge at their houses, they commonly will send their Wives or Daughters to bear them company in their Chamber. Neither do they recokon their Wives to be Whores for lying with them that are as good or better than themselves.

'They do not matter or regard whether their Wives at the First Marriage be Maids or not. And for a small reward the Mother will bring her Daughter being a Maiden unto those that do desire her. But it is so much abhorred for Women of high Cast or Descent to admit Men of the low Cast to have any thing to do with them, that I think they never do it.'

Knox's account of the laxity of the marital tie is entirely corroborated by other authorities throughout the Kandyan period. In *Kobbekaḍuva, late raṭe-mahatmayā vs. Waytary late, raṭe-mahatmayā* (1817)<sup>5</sup> a witness stated that one Wirasimha Mudaliar, at his death-bed, called his seven daughters before him and said, "I am not certain that you will all marry out, and it also may happen that some of you will return from your husbands. Should that be the case I have reserved one *pāla* of Kohovilla-deniya to be possessed by such daughters." Only three daughters survived, two of whom married and left the ancestral home. The youngest enjoyed the land, leaving it when she married. Her first husband was executed by the king's orders and she returned to her father's house to resume possession of the *pāla* of Kohovilla-deniya; "She afterwards was called to wife by Valbavagedara, a man of Seven Kōraḷēs who dying, and she having no maintenance, she returned to her father's house being big with child. She brought forth a son and possessed the *pāla*

4. There are innumerable such folk-tales of marital infidelity (cf. Parker 1910-14. I. Nos. 6, 7, 34 and 40).

5. BJC. 29-1-1817 (CGA 23/2).

of land Kohovilla-deniya." Thus the duteous father anticipated the vicissitudes of matrimony and provided for his daughters accordingly.

Sexual relations in general, and marital relations in particular, were not fettered, but were considered rather as casual and inevitable incidents in a person's life.<sup>6</sup> Almost every man married at the age of eighteen or twenty, and old maids were uncommon.<sup>7</sup> If a husband divorced his wife while she was pregnant or had a child alive, he was obliged only to give her provisions for six months and she could, after she was delivered, take another husband of her own will, or be given in marriage at the instance of her parents. In such an atmosphere it is hardly surprising that there was a remarkable vagueness as to the essentials of a legal marriage, and the line which distinguished marriage from concubinage was faint indeed. In *Appurāla vs. his wife*<sup>8</sup> a woman denied that she was married to a man with whom she had cohabited for seven years on the ground that her relations did not consent, while the man insisted that she was his wife.

The higher ranks did make marriage an occasion for elaborate celebrations, and Nevill has set forth in detail the full constituents of a traditional wedding.<sup>9</sup> Proposals of marriage being made by mutual visits, the astrologer fixes the auspicious day for the wedding, having first compared the horoscopes. If these are pronounced adverse, the match is broken off without further ado. On the appointed day the bridegroom's party, accompanied always by his washerman, proceed to the bride's house, carrying presents of cloth, plantains, rice, and other food. These are carried in pingos, *kat*, usually borne by men of the *hakuru* caste. The most important of these *kat* is the one called *yeladakada* which though spoken of as one, usually comprises more than one pingo-load, and in the case of well-to-do people forms loads for four or five men. It consists of the following: a small mat-bag called *paskulu-baḍu-malla*, containing the *paskulu-baḍu*, viz. ginger, pepper, mustard, black and white cummin; a jar of cakes; a bundle of one hundred betel-leaves; a hundred areca-nuts; sixty measures of raw rice; sixty husked

6. It should be noted, however, that there is no necessary relationship between lax sexual morals and loose ties of marriage. Even where extra-marital sexual intercourse is tolerated, the ritual union of marriage may be sharply distinguished and regarded as sacred and indissoluble.

7. Davy (1821), 284. In *Meddumadurealage Ukke vs. Lankadurealage Kuda Dureya*, BJC. 16-10-1822, (CGA 23/7), "the Chiefs say they never before heard of a woman being without a husband until her twenty-seventh year."

8. *Appurāla vs. his wife, niece of Makool Olua Vidan*, BJC. 18-12-1818, (CGA 23/16).

9. Nevill (1887); cf. also Davy (1821), 284-286, and NN.



cocoanuts ; dried fish. The *yeladakada*, which is intended to compensate the bride's people for the expenses incurred in entertaining the bridegroom's party, is omitted when the bride is a cross-cousin of the bridegroom (i.e., the daughter of his father's sister, or of his mother's brother).<sup>10</sup>

As the procession advances to the gate of the bride's residence, her *ävassa massina* (mother's brother's son, or father's sister's son) or nearest relation in that degree, goes forward to receive a "fee" of forty betel leaves, known as *kadulu bulat*, without which he would refuse admittance. This relation, the cross-cousin, had a right to marry the bride, even by force, and the *kadulu bulat* signified that he had voluntarily resigned this claim, and would not molest the bride or bridegroom. Indeed, the most appropriate marriage partner was supposed to be the cross-cousin. "The son of the eldest brother has a sort of vested right to have his cousin, the eldest daughter of his father's eldest sister, for his wife, and the connection of the most respectable families often runs in this way from generation to generation."<sup>11</sup> On the other hand the children of two sisters or of two brothers, i.e. parallel cousins, were supposed to be so closely related that marriage between them was regarded as incestuous.<sup>12</sup>

The bridegroom's party, invited to advance by the *ävassa massinā*, enter the house which is highly decorated with white cloth canopies, and white cloth to walk on. A special shed (*magul maḍuva*) is frequently constructed. Near the entrance to the house water is poured over the bridegroom's feet by a brother of the bride from a *koraha* and the groom drops a ring into the vessel, which becomes the property of the man who bathed his feet. As he passes over the foot-cloth, the bridegroom drops one or more coins, called *pāvāda massa*, as fee to the bride's washerman. Having obtained leave the visiting party seat themselves in order of precedence, the chief of the party taking the *mul puṭuva*. The pingos are now formally presented, and placed on a platform prepared for the purpose. The men and women are seated separately, and the bridegroom's party are feasted, the men of the bride's party not joining the repast.

10. These gifts were sometimes dispatched to the bride's relations, particularly if they did not participate in the wedding feast. Failure to do so once led to a dispute and assault *R. vs. Wadamatuwakkukaria Lekam*, BJC. 4-7-1817, (CGA 23/3).

11. Sawers' *Digest* : Such a tradition of cross-cousin marriage is well illustrated in the Kāppitipola genealogy in the possession of the family.

12. Hayley (1923), 155 cites two cases which occurred some eighty years ago where the parties to a union between the children of two sisters were put to death by their relations. The distinction between parallel and cross-cousins is still rigidly drawn, and we hear the curious expression "cousin-brother" employed by English-speaking people to denote the parallel-cousin.

After the evening meal the guests await the auspicious hour for the wedding proper, which is almost invariably just at dawn, spending the greater part of the night in conversation and telling stories. At the auspicious moment, the bridegroom and a few of the men of his party enter the bride's chamber, where a plank known as the *magul pōruva*, covered with white calico, has been prepared,<sup>13</sup> and on it the bride and bridegroom stand facing the lucky direction, ascertained from the astrologer. The bridegroom then hands the bride a cloth, which she folds round her waist—a ceremony called *aṇḍina dīma*, signifying the husband's obligation to provide clothes for his wife. Their two right little-fingers are then tied together, but they need not remain so. Two balls of rice are then exchanged between them, and they pretend to eat a little of it, the ceremony being called *bat piḍi mārukirima* or exchange of rice-balls, denoting the mutual obligation to provide and to prepare food.<sup>14</sup> Betel leaves are then exchanged, but not eaten, and they are allowed to fall, and become the perquisite of the bride's washer. The father of the bride then pours some water upon the clasped right hands of the betrothed couple.

The bridegroom then asks the washerman what his fee is, and until the latter says that the amount he has received is sufficient, no food can be eaten, and this privilege is firmly insisted on, and if the family has offended him, the washer can demand a heavy fine. The wedding feast then commences, the guests seating themselves around a pile of food from which they help themselves with their hands in proof of good fellowship. Presents of a cloth, an areca-cutter, and a chunam-box, are given to the bride's mother. Both parties conduct the married couple to their home, and a feast ensues. This procession was formed with every possible publicity, including the inevitable tom-tom beating, and was, next to the washer's testimony, the best evidence of the legality of the union. At the bridegroom's threshold, two men of the washer's family hold up a white canopy and the two nearest female relations of the bridegroom stand under it on either side, each holding two lighted wicks. As the bride passes under, and lifts her foot to the threshold, a young man of the bridegroom's family wields a bill-hook and

13. The highest *raṭe* families were allowed to spread their own white cloth over that spread by the washer on the *magul-pōruva*, a privilege which is absolutely forbidden to people of lower families. Dr E. R. Leach suggests that the symbolism of the *magul-pōruva* may be interpreted in terms of its agricultural analogue—the wooden *pōruva* or plank used to smooth the paddy fields : the cultivator stands on the latter prior to sowing the seed.

14. In the folk-tale "The White Turtle" (Parker 1910, I), two sisters went to a country "where they give to eat and wear," i.e. in search of husbands. According to Knox (1681), 148 the exchange of rice is to indicate that the couple are of the same rank and quality.



smites asunder a husked cocoanut which has been laid on the doorstep—an offering to the guardian-spirit of the house.<sup>15</sup>

But these ceremonies were hardly observed by the common people, for whom “the meanest way of contracting a marriage is for the bridegroom to go with a few attendants, carrying with him a cloth to the bride’s house, and after she has dressed herself in the cloth presented by the bridegroom, she is conducted by him and his attendants to the bridegroom’s house, a lucky moment being previously ascertained.”<sup>16</sup> The formalities necessary for a legal marriage varied in different districts.<sup>17</sup> Generally Kandyan Law held that the circumstance of a man and woman of the same rank living together as man and wife, was sufficient to establish their childrens’ right to inherit from them, although the parents may not have gone through the regular rituals of marriage.<sup>18</sup> But in Sabaragamuva, where more attention was paid to the regularity of marriage than in the upper provinces, “unless a barren woman<sup>19</sup> has been called with all due formality by the family and relations of the husband, she will not as a matter of right inherit any part of her husband’s property.”<sup>20</sup>

The nature of the institution of marriage is well illustrated in the attitudes towards divorce, which was a common event; the union could be terminated by mutual consent.<sup>21</sup> The usual method by which a man repudiated his wife was “by taking her back to her village.”<sup>22</sup> The law required her parents or brothers to support her until she re-married, for daughters did not usually inherit

15. i.e., Ganēsa (cf. Nevill. 1887).

16. Knox (1681), 149 records a peculiar form of marriage. “And sometimes they use this Ceremony, the Man is to stand with one end of the Woman’s Cloth about his Loins, and she with the other, and then they pour water on both their Heads, wetting all their Bodies : which being done, they are firmly Married to live together, so long as they can agree.”

17. Per counsel for the defendant in *Kistna Amma vs. Kaudewille Appuhamy*, BJC., 18-12-1818, (CGA. 23/4).

18. *Karandeniya Gamage Punchi Appuhami vs. Karandeniya Gamage Kaluhamy*, (Appeal), BJC, 16-11-1827, (CGA. 23/21). Also Knox (1681), 149.

19. i.e., one who was not pregnant.

20. *Baddehelgoddey Jalenty Lekam vs. Baddehelgoddey Mahammone Rale*, BJC, 21-8-1822, (CGA. 23/4).

21. *Wumullaya Udaralarra Galegoda Menika vs. Gollehale Dinga*, BJC, 22-2-1822, (CGA. 23/6). “Indissolubility, which is often a burden in Christian communities, becomes intolerable in an Oriental and heathen society” (Letter from the Assistant Government Agent, Sabaragamuva to the Government Agent, Western Province, 11-12-1868. AR., commenting on the Ordinance of 1859). In the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance of 1952 mutual consent remains a ground for divorce.

22. *R. vs. Punga*, BJC, 23-10-1816, (CGA. 23/1).

land.<sup>23</sup> There was no community of property between husband and wife by Kandyan custom, “the natural consequence of the looseness of the marriage tie.”<sup>24</sup> Even in *diga* marriages, where the bride left her parental home to reside with her husband, the latter had no control over her dower, nor could he intermeddle with any property acquired by her after marriage, independently of him. But the wife could make use of her husband’s property for the maintenance of the family, even selling the produce or mortgaging his lands, if necessary, for subsistence, but she was precluded from selling his estate. A wife could take nothing belonging to her husband if she left him contrary to his wish, and must leave even the wearing apparel provided by him.<sup>25</sup>

Since the contract of marriage was so easily terminated, it was only appropriate that the ritual of binding the hands was sometimes omitted from the ceremony,<sup>26</sup> for it symbolized an indissoluble “bond.” Similarly, the act of pouring water over the clasped hands of the wedded couple, which was symbolic of growth and fertility, was not insisted on in a society in which many women did not desire to have children and “they very exquisitely can prevent the same.”<sup>27</sup> Such rituals were appropriate only if the marriage ceremony was intended to symbolize the conclusion of a relatively permanent union, contracted with a view to raising a family.<sup>28</sup> No such ideas of the finality of a marriage prevailed, and there were occasions on which, after the matching of horoscopes and the conclusion of the wedding feast, when the marriage appeared to have been finally settled, the parents of the girl might withdraw their consent, and the bridegroom’s present of cloth being returned, the marriage was annulled.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, Davy states that the first fortnight of the bride’s

23. *Walla Muttoo Coode Rale vs. The Kunam Maduve Lekam*, BJC, 5-7-1817, (CGA. 23/3), where the daughter was said to have received no land by inheritance “as is customary,” but received a dowry. In *Galle Elle Totte Gan Elterale vs. Mutottugama*, BJC, 5-7-1817, (CGA. 23/3), not even a dowry was given to a daughter—which was not usual among the poorer classes (cf. Davy 1821. 289). In such cases a daughter was entitled to lodging and support from her father’s estate if she had no means of her own, in case she divorced (*Henaikegedera Menik Etana vs. Henaikegedera Punchirala*, BJC, 27-7-1824, CGA. 23/13).

24. Per the Judicial Commissioner, in the Appeal of *Openaike Hetti-arachillage Kirihamy Lekam vs. Boggahakumbura Ranhamy*, BJC, 21-4-1826, (CGA. 23/17).

25. D’Oyly (1835), 128.

26. Knox (1681), 148.

27. *op. cit.*, 146, 149.

28. Ideas of the sanctity of the marital tie have been generally accepted in recent times, and the traditional formalities nowadays re-enacted in the minutest detail by respectable Kandyans.

29. *Galwadde Hangadene vs. Galwadde Duriya Lianne Wadua*, BJC, 14-12-1818, (CGA. 23/4).



cohabitation with her husband was a period of trial, at the end of which the marriage was either annulled or confirmed.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from the formal requirements which varied, there were certain minimal prerequisites in the absence of which no marriage was legally binding. Determination of the legality or otherwise of a marriage was necessary since the Kandyan law of inheritance distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate children. Hayley classifies the essentials of a legal marriage as follows :<sup>31</sup>

1. The parties must have *connubium*. Generally, marriage between persons of different caste, or even of different ranks within a caste,<sup>32</sup> were prohibited and void. But there were exceptions, and in some districts men of one caste regularly took their wives from another caste.<sup>33</sup> Niti-niganduva considers the case of a *goyigama* or *rañē* woman marrying a man of high caste than herself (e.g., a man of royal, brahmin, or merchant caste from India, there being no caste higher than *goyigama* in Ceylon), and states that the children did not succeed to their father's caste, but were considered legitimate and entitled to inherit their father's *pravēni* property, even if he should have other children by a wife of his own caste in this country.

In a testamentary action, the Chiefs enunciated the following general rule : "The children of a slave or of a woman of low caste or even of inferior rank cannot by Kandyan custom inherit their father's *pravēni* property as a matter of course, but must have their title to such property supported either by a written deed or a formal verbal gift or bequest duly authenticated by respectable witnesses."<sup>34</sup> Where a *goyigama* man had children by a woman of his own caste as well as by a second wife of lower caste (*pannayā*) it was held by the Great Court that under no circumstances would the son of the *pannayā* woman be entitled to any share of the old *pravēni* property of a *goyigama* family, but in the event of their being no purchased estate, the low caste woman's son would be entitled to a greater portion of the moveable

30. Davy (1821), 286.

31. Hayley (1923), Ch. V.

32. "He disinherited his son Menik Rāla for the following reason : Menik Rāla married a woman of a *lower family* and went and lived for seven years with her in her house. Afterwards his father got him to leave her and marry the daughter of Oudewelle Gamarāla (*Andowelle Modianse vs. Kahatapittiye Kuda Gamarāla*, BJC, 28-2-1817, CGA. 23/2). Again, a mother committed suicide when her daughter eloped with a man "not of sufficient respectability to make a match with a daughter of their family." (*Nuwanddige Kalla Nainde vs. his brother*, BJC, 20-2-1822, CGA. 23/6).

33. Hayley (1923), 177.

34. *Serabalatenagey Don Hendrick de Silva vs. Pamoone Mohottale*, BJC, 6-12-1821, (CGA. 23/8).

property, or to the whole of the cattle or other moveable property, had the father so willed it.<sup>35</sup> A man without parents could marry a woman of lower rank and his children would be considered legitimate even though the marriage was contracted against the wish of his relations, and contrary to the customs of the country, while a man with no kinsmen could marry a woman of howsoever low a caste and his children entitled to inherit his property on his death although they did not attain their father's rank.<sup>36</sup>

2. The parties must not have been within the prohibited degrees of relationship (cf. under kinship).
3. The parties must have cohabited with the intention of forming a definite alliance, the intention being inferred from the circumstance—as far as inheritance was concerned, the formalities were not looked into in order to determine the regularity of a marriage.
4. "The consent of the respective heads of the families ; the countenance and sanction of the relations to the third or fourth degree on both sides, to the union of the parties" (Sawers). A woman was entirely at the disposal of her parents or, after their death, of her nearest male relations, even after the termination of her first marriage by death or divorce,<sup>37</sup> but she could choose a suitable husband for herself if her parents or brothers neglected their duty of finding her a suitable partner. In the case of men a greater freedom was allowed, a man being entitled to contract a valid marriage with a woman of lower rank after the death of his parents. But generally the opposition of parents or kinsmen was sufficient to annul a marriage celebrated with all due formality.<sup>38</sup> In the case of chiefs of high rank, the king's consent was necessary before they married.

In Sinhalese law and social practice, matrilineal and partilineal marriages were distinguished. In the *binna* (matrilineal) marriage, the husband lived in his wife's parental home and she had an equal interest in her parents' estate with her brothers, and her children had a claim on the family estate equal to their mother's interest.<sup>39</sup>

35. *Meegadeniya Menika Hamy vs. Natotta Mudianselagey Appuhamy*, BJC, 19-1-1822, (CGA. 23/6).

36. NN.

37. NN.

38. *Angammenna vs. Kempitiye Koralle*, 28-2-1828 (in Hayley. 1923. 72).

39. In the event of the issue being female, they had a right to their mother's share whether they be given out in marriage or not. But should the grandfather survive his daughter and her daughters be given out by the grandfather in *diga*, they would be cut off from all claim in the family estate. If given out by their uncles after their grandfather's death, they would not be cut off from their right to their mother's estate (*Pallehenagedere Dingiri Menika vs. Pallehenagedere Kirale*, BJC., 1-2-1823. (CGA. 23/9).



A *binna* husband had no privileges in his wife's house, no power over her property, and was liable to expulsion or divorce by the wife or her parents at any moment: "the proverb is, that the *binna* husband should take care to have constantly ready at the door of his wife's room, a walking-stick, a *talpat*, and a torch, that he may be prepared at any hour of the day or night, and whatever may be the state of the weather or of his own health, to quit the house on being ordered."<sup>40</sup> In the case of a *diga* or patrilocal marriage the daughter lost her right to inheritance, but was entitled to maintenance "in the event of her being obliged to return from misfortune,"<sup>41</sup> in her father's lifetime.<sup>42</sup>

"In this Country, even the greatest, hath but one Wife; but a Woman often has two Husbands," wrote Knox in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>43</sup> The antiquity of the custom of polyandry must however remain an open question on account of the paucity of historical data.<sup>44</sup> Rājāvaliya alone records the case of Kālanitissa (circa B.C. 200), whose younger brother cohabited<sup>45</sup> with his queen, and the king showed his displeasure by making a *roḍiya* declare to a royal assembly that "a younger brother who lives in the same house (with his elder brother) is of lower caste than I am,"—to the chagrin of the offender.

The practice of polyandry, universal in the *uḍa-raṭa*, seems to have persisted in the Littoral even after a century and a half of culture contact with Europeans,<sup>46</sup> and Ribeiro described Sinhalese marriages at the time of the Portuguese occupation as follows:<sup>47</sup>

40. D'Oyly (1835), 129. A distinction is usually made between *binna* and *diga* ceremonies. In the latter certain rituals are performed *outside* the bride's house, to emphasise the fact that she is "given out" e.g. tying the fingers etc.

41. In the case of *Pallehenagedera Dingiri Menika*, supra.

42. *Ratmukagedere Kalu Etana vs. Dingirala*, BJC. 4-3-1824, (CGA. 23/12, Pt. I).

43. Knox (1681), 150. But there are stray references to polygynous unions in late Kandyan times: Gantunē Vidāne built separate dwellings for his two wives (BC. 20-11-1826, in Lawrie Mss. II).

44. Ievers (1899a) states that polyandry was absent in the Dry Zone village which he mistakenly supposes to represent the state of society of the "Aryan" ancients. Others argue from the silence of the Pāli chronicles, that polyandry did not exist.

45. The official English translator incorrectly renders this "criminal intercourse." *Samyōga* (සමයෝග) has no necessary connotation of illegality or even immorality.

46. Baldeus (1685) states that "they recommend the conjugal duty to be performed by their own brothers," and gives the instance of a woman of Galle who "had confidence enough to complain of the want of duty in her husband's brother on that account."

47. Ribeiro (1685); cf. also Saar (1647-57).

"Their marriages are a ridiculous matter. A girl makes a contract to marry a man of her own caste (for she cannot marry outside it), and if the relatives are agreeable they give a banquet and unite the betrothed couple. The next day a brother of the husband takes his place, and if there are seven brothers she is the wife of all of them, distributing the nights by turns, without the husband having a greater right than any of his brothers. If during the day any of them find the chamber unoccupied, he can retire with the woman if he thinks fit, and while he is within no one else can enter."<sup>48</sup> She can refuse herself to none of them; whichever brother it may be that contracts the marriage, the woman is the wife of all; only if the youngest marry, none of the other brothers has any right over her but he can claim access to the wives of all of them whenever he likes. If it chances that there are more brothers than seven, those who exceed that number have no right over her; but if there are two up to five, they are satisfied with one woman; and the woman who is married to a husband with a large number of brothers is considered very fortunate, for all toil and cultivate for her and bring whatever they earn to the house, and she lives much honoured and well supported, and for this reason the children call all of the brothers their fathers."

In Kandyan times, the practice of polyandry was never frowned upon even in royal circles, and the brothers of Dharma Parākrama Bāhu (A.D. 1509—1528) had three princes born to them "whilst living together in one house."<sup>49</sup> "The expressions generally used in reference to this custom by the Kandyans are well known. The joint husbands will not say that they have a wife in common; the phrase employed is *api ekageyi raksāvenavā* (අපි එකගෙයි රක්ෂාවෙනවා) 'We earn our living in the same house.' Nor does the woman say 'I am their wife,' but 'cook rice for all of them.' *mama ē detundenātama bat uyā denavā* (මම ඒ තුන් දෙනාටම බත් උයා දෙනවා)."<sup>50</sup> In a typical lawsuit it was stated that two brothers decided to take a joint wife when their mother became infirm and could no longer cook for them, and subsequently had other wives between them, replacing a wife who died or left them with another. The brothers lived in harmony until at last they quarrelled and went their ways. All the while a third brother, *persona non grata* with them, lived in the same house with a separate wife.<sup>51</sup>

Evidence in support of the hypothesis that polyandry is "a matter of plain arithmetic," has been adduced from certain East African tribes in which a differential death-rate in infancy alters the level

48. According to popular tradition, a shawl hung up outside the door was a sign that the joint wife was engaged.

49. *Rājāvaliya*; *Clv.* 64, 33, 55.

50. Denham (1911), 329-330, by which time polyandry was rare. But in 1884 Ievers reported that polyandry was much more general than was supposed, the marriages being registered, if at all, in the name of one brother. "Māpiṭigam Kōrāla is present. I have frequently told him that he must get married and cease living with his brother's wife in polyandry but he has not yet obeyed so I have to make official record of it and report him to the Government Agent" (Agent's Diary, Kāgalla. CGA. 30/6).

51. *Pujagoda Puspe vs. his brother Alapolla Kiri Puncha*, BJC. 4-8-1825, (CGA. 23/16).



sex-ratio at birth, leaving an excess of males.<sup>52</sup> In the case of the Todas of South India, polyandry has been correlated with the maintenance of an uneven sex-ratio by means of the systematic practice of female infanticide. Among the Sinhalese too, the persistence of a sex-ratio conducive to polyandry, in certain areas at any rate, might be attributed to infanticide.<sup>53</sup> Knox mentions that a child born under an inauspicious planet was killed "either by starving it, letting it lye and die, or by drowning it, putting its head into a Vessel of water, or by burying it alive."<sup>54</sup> Hartshorne records the tradition that in the time of the kings, the population of Ūva was, "upon some Malthusian theory, restricted to the number 12,500 and that it was prevented from rising above this figure by exposing the children upon the mountains in the old Spartan fashion."<sup>55</sup>

In 1812 Āhālēpola Adhikārama published an order forbidding people to expose children "a very common practice after three of four children are born, or in case of a child born under an unlucky *nākata*, or the parents poor—and sometimes the parents themselves put them to death, by crushing them with a stone or drowning."<sup>56</sup> The disproportion of the sex-ratio attracted the attention of the chiefs responsible for the compilation of the population returns, of 1820,<sup>57</sup> and they made no scruple in declaring that child murder was even then committed, and readily described the means of relinquishing life in a new-born infant without leaving the signs of violence necessary to prove murder.<sup>58</sup> It would be in-

52. G. M. Culwick, "Monogamy and the Ratio of the Sexes" (*Man* XXXVI/13, 1936).

53. According to D'Oyly (1835), 37, the crime was prevalent in Valapanē, Ūva, and Sabaragamuva, and was rare in districts contiguous to the capital.

54. Knox (1681), 151, For a case of female infanticide by burying alive cf. RCD, 27-11-1827. D'Oyly, op. cit., 36-37, mentions two other grounds for infanticide—when the infant was the fruit of an illicit connection, and when the parents were incapable of maintaining the child on account of extreme poverty.

55. Hartshorne (1872). Parker (1910-'14) I.5 mentions a folk-tale according to which a King destroyed all female children; in another a woman who bore a daughter while plucking fruits, abandoned the daughter rather than leave the fruits, her husband agreeing (*ibid.* I. No. 12).

56. D'Oyly's *Diary* 13-1-1812 Infanticide continued in early British times. In *Odogodegera Kiri Etana vs. Moho tagedera Ran Hamy*, BJC. 25-1-1821 (CGA 23/32) "a witness described how a mother had thrown a child into a hole from which yams had been dug," saying she had no father for it." The Judicial Commissioner sentenced a woman found guilty of burying alive her female child, to three years imprisonment at hard labour in the *gabādāva*, and to stand in the pillory three times in the public bazaar. (RCD, 27-11-27, in Lawrie Mss. III).

57. The returns of that year showed an excess of 27,193 males in a population of 475,883.

58. Turnour (1824).

correct however to conclude that polyandry is possible only where there is such "artificial tampering with the sex-ratio."<sup>59</sup> For when Rivers worked among the Todas, infanticide was no longer practised, but there still remained "a completely organised and definite system of polyandry."<sup>60</sup> Clearly there are other important correlates of polyandry.

Having observed that in his time the preponderance of males was greatest in the poorest areas, whereas in some of the prosperous fishing villages the number of females rather exceeded that of males,<sup>61</sup> Davy concluded that where life was difficult to support, females were certainly at a discount. And two brothers Dingirāla and Medumarāla blandly declared that since they inherited so little land from their father, they were obliged to be content with one wife between them.<sup>62</sup> "This singular species of polygamy is not confined to any caste or rank; it is more or less general amongst the high and low, the rich and poor..... The apology of the poor is, that they cannot afford each to have a particular wife; and of the wealthy and men of rank, that such a union is politic, as it unites families, concentrates property and influence, and conduces to the interest of the children, who, having two fathers, will be better taken care of and will still have a father though they may lose one."<sup>63</sup>

There is no doubt that the practice of polyandry minimized the fragmentation of ancestral property. For three brothers having four sons by a joint-wife, would certainly have had to provide for twelve heirs if each had a separate wife.<sup>64</sup> If they contracted a polyandrous union the paternal estate would be held undividedly by their four sons. Polyandry was finally related to the *rājakāriya* system which required many a person to be away from home on public service, leaving his family unattended for several months at a time. It was customary for the brothers at home to till the fields, and care for the joint-wife and children. Indeed, so common was the practice of fraternal polyandry in late Kandyan times that such an arrangement was presumed when two or more brothers holding lands in common occupied the same *mulgedara*, and one

59. R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, (London, 1950), 116.

60. W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, (London, 1906), 515.

61. Davy (1821), 107.

62. BJC. 24-9-1823, (Lawrie Mss. III).

63. Davy (1821), 286-287.

64. Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Culture and The Contact of Races*, (London 1927), 131-132, adduces evidence in support of the theory that in a polyandrous situation, too frequent intercourse may give rise to diminished fertility and even sterility in the joint-wife, since over-exposure of the female to even the same male is unfavourable to fertilization.



of them married.<sup>65</sup> According to the chiefs, if a sister-in-law should be seen combing the hair of her full-grown brother-in-law, she would be taken to be his wife.<sup>66</sup>

The joint husbands were almost always "brothers,"<sup>67</sup> and fraternal polyandry was allowed without any limitation as to the number of husbands, but the wife could not take a second associated husband without the consent of the first. If the second husband was not a brother of the first, the wife's family had to be consulted. A wife could refuse to admit a second husband, even if he were a brother of the first. Generally the children were supposed to have been begotten by all the fathers, the latter being differentiated by the appellations 'big' (*loku*) or 'small' (*kuḍā*), according to age. But in an interesting law-suit, it transpired that Loku Payiṇḍakārayā, "a very black man," and Kuḍā Payiṇḍakārayā, a brown-skinned man, were married to one wife, and Kuḍā would not admit that any of the black children were his, and claimed the light-coloured ones, while Loku claimed all the black offspring. The wife agreed to the assignment of the children to their respective claimants.<sup>68</sup>

The most common form polyandry was for two brothers to have a wife between them,<sup>69</sup> and even in a family of many brothers, two would arrange to have a joint wife and live separately. The following table, (Fig. I) drawn up in the official record of *Kahagolle Korale vs. Hatnagoda Kuda Korale*<sup>70</sup> illustrates the most usual polyandrous unions :

65. NN. But Berwick (1870) goes too far in arguing that the ancient institutions of the country "sanctioned the theory that every child was begotten, not by one, but by *all* the brothers and their cousins (of a certain class, i.e., the offspring of children of the same sex) who were members of the undivided family; and on the death of one of them, his undivided shares of the common inheritance were apportioned among all the children of the family community," and that as a result "the law itself assumed—and the conservation of the undivided hereditary property within and among the undivided family required (or was supposed to require) simultaneous and promiscuous Polyandry and Polygyny, as well as Community of Estate, among the collateral descendants of a common stock." Hayley (1923) goes a step further and argues that polyandry was preceded by a stage of primal promiscuity between the sexes.

66. Case No. 4141, District Court, Mātālē, 14-12-1843 (in Lawrie Mss. III). Until recently men invariably wore their hair long.

67. The inverted commas indicate the Sinhalese classificatory usage which includes parallel cousins (i.e., children of two brothers or of two sisters,) besides own-brothers.

68. *Payagoda Puspa vs. his brother*, BJC. 13-5-1825, (CGA. 23/15).

69. As stated by Knox (1681), and Davy (1821).

70. BJC. 5-5-1819, (CGA. 23/5). The following symbols are used : triangles for males, circles for females. The relationship between siblings by a vertical descent line attaching the symbol to the horizontal sibling bar. The marriage relationship is represented by a horizontal coupling bar joined by a vertical line to the base of the sex symbol. Alternatively (in the smaller diagrams) a sign of equality represents the marriage relationship, and a prohibited marriage by  $\neq$

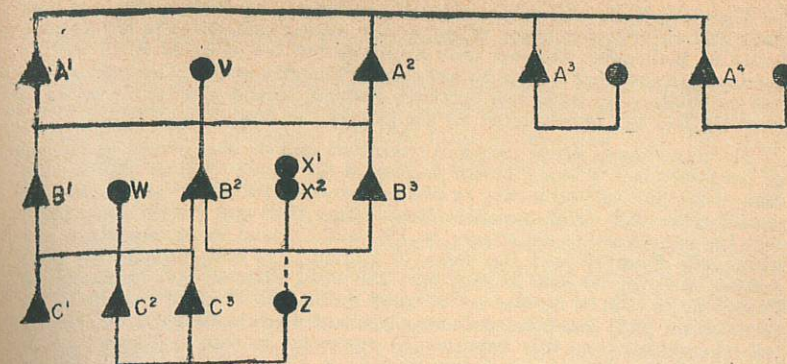


Fig. I

The relevant records of the above cases merits quotation, since it illustrates the complexity of kinship relations through marriage and the economic transactions which accompanied or even actuated marital negotiations :

'There were four brothers Loku Rāla (A1), Kōrāla (A2), Vidāna (A3), and Kuḍā Rāla (A4) who possessed jointly the village of Hatnagoda consisting of 7 *pālas* of land formed into 3 fields, viz. Warakawah, Meenerapitiya-deniya, and Beligammana. They possessed these lands in common by turns, one field each season possessed by three of the brothers, the other brother having that season no field ... Loku Rāla (A1) and Kōrāla (A2) lived in one house and called one woman (V) to wife. The other two brothers (A3 and A4) married separate wives. The dispute is regarding the inheritance of the two first brothers Loku Rāla (A1) and Kōrāla (A2) by the woman from Dandolgam (V) whom they married and had three sons, Vidān (B1), Mudalihāmy afterwards called Mādduma Kōrāl (B2), and Punchi Appu afterwards called Kuḍā Kōrāla (B3).

'Vidān (B1) and Mudalihāmy (B2) called to wife a woman from Pohoregdera in Seven Kōrālēs (W) and received the share of their elder father Loku Rāla (A1) who died. Punchi Appu (B3) lived with his younger father Kōrāla (A2). Punchi Appu (B3) called to wife Plaintiff's sister (X1).

'To Vidān (B1) and Mudalihāmy (B2) were born three sons, Vedarāla (C1) Ukkurāla (C2), and Punchirāla, one of the Defendants (C3). Mudalihāmy (B2) having a quarrel with his (joint) wife (W) went to Ratgolle in Seven Kōrālēs and lived there. Afterwards Kōrāla (A2) his younger father, sent (a message) to his son Mudalihāmy (B2) to come and live with him. So Mudalihāmy (B2) came and Kōrāla (A2) told him and Punchi Appu (B3) to possess his share of the land and they did so and the woman called to wife from Kahagalla (Plaintiff's sister, X1) became the wife of the two brothers (B2 and B3) who both cohabited with her.

'While Mudalihāmy (B2) was living with Plaintiff's eldest sister (X1) as above said, he and his father Kōrāla (A2) came to Plaintiff's house at Kahagalla and stated that they were indebted to a man of Puswelle in Seven Kōrālēs in a sum of 50 *ridis* and had no means of discharging it and asked to borrow the sum from Plaintiff as Plaintiff's sister was living with the two brothers Mudalihāmy and Punchi Appu (B2 and B3). He lent the 50 *ridis* which was taken to the house by a *hakuru*. Their share of the land was pawned to the man of Puswelle, and so plaintiff lent the money to redeem it,



'After this Plaintiff's eldest sister (X1) who was married to the two brothers (B2 and B3) was taken ill and at her request was taken to her father's house at Kahagalla. Doctors were employed but her sickness could not be cured and she died. Previous to her death Plaintiff's sister (X1) said as she had no children by these two brothers, Plaintiff should recover the 50 *ridis*. She said this on her death-bed in the presence of Mudalihāmy (B2).

'She and Punchi Appu (B3) had quarrelled and he never came to see her on her death-bed. When Plaintiff demanded the money, Kōrāla (A2) the old man, said they had no money to pay and requested Plaintiff would give his second sister (X2) to his two sons Mudalihāmy (B2) and Punchi Appu (B3), that he might receive assistance. So Plaintiff's second sister was given and afterwards Plaintiff paid the debts of Kōrāla (A2) and Mudalihāmy (B2) making with the 50 *ridis* already lent 250 *ridis*. Plaintiff lent no money to Punchi Appu (B3) as he was not on good terms with Plaintiff. As Plaintiff's second sister (X2) also bore no children she took home a daughter of Plaintiff and adopted her, and this daughter (Z) was called to wife by Ukkurāla (C2) and Punchrāla (C3) the two youngest sons of Vidan (B1) and Mudalihāmy (B2) by the woman of Seven Kōrālēs (W). When she (Z) was pregnant they brought her to Plaintiff's house where she was brought to bed of a son who died after five days and the two brothers (C2 and C3) afterwards never came to take Plaintiff's daughter back to their house...'

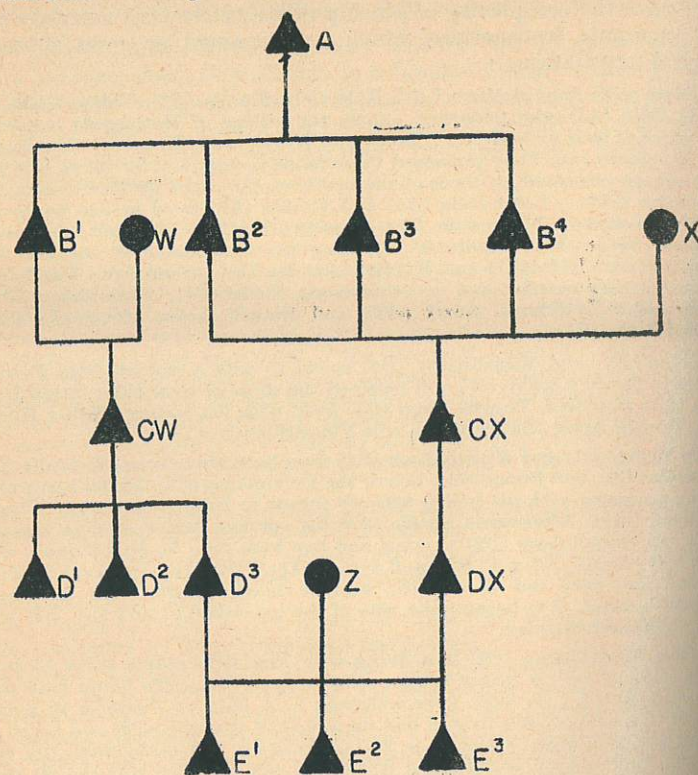


Fig. II

Another genealogical sketch is available in the records of *Perenewalauwe Loku Banda vs. Perenewalauwe Dingiri Menika* : Fig. II<sup>71</sup>

Here Kuruppu Mudianse (A) had three sons, B2, B3 and B4, who married one wife (X), while his eldest son (B1) married a separate wife (W). The grandson of the joint connection was Doloswelle Basnāyaka Nilame (DX), son of Ratnapura Nilame (CX). Doloswelle Basnāyake Nilame (DX) had a wife in common with Loku Nilame (D3), a son of Koḍituvakku Nilame (CW). The dispute was regarding the property of Koḍituvakku Nilame (CW). It was held that two-thirds of his property should go to his two elder sons (D1 and D2), and the remaining one-third to the sons of the joint connection contracted by the third son Loku Nilame (D3) with Doloswelle Basnāyaka Nilame (DX) that is, E1, E2, and E3 had a claim on the property of their grandfather (CW), along with their uncles (D1 and D2), in accordance with the rule that a man was required to make provision for the issue of a joint connection with his brother.

Besides the widespread practice of polyandry, Niti-nighanduva states that "it is also a frequent custom for two or three men to have two or three wives in common." It would appear that in a household where some brothers shared a spouse while others had wives of their own, fraternal amity might be such that a brother would not regard his wife as his exclusive property, and his rights were extended to his brothers by tacit consent. Even in the latter half of the last century, after polyandry had been made illegal, it was frequently discovered in the course of divorce proceedings under the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance (No. 13 of 1859), that although a marriage was registered in the name of one brother, the others had access to the wife ;<sup>72</sup> the polyandrous situation changed imperceptibly into one of group-marriage if one of the brothers brought another wife into the *mulgedara*. Thus in the course of evidence in a lawsuit, a witness said : "He had a wife of his own but at the same time cohabited with the wives of his brothers. In fact the wives of the four brothers were cohabited with by them (the brothers) in common."<sup>73</sup> Since cross-cousin marriage was the rule, two wives in a group marriage might well be sisters.

71. BJC., 12-7-1825. (CGA. 23/15).

72. Ievers : Official Diary, Ruvanvālla, 1884. (CGA. 30/6).

73. *Woomullea Durealagey Ungaja vs. Nilpolluagey Dinga*, BJC. 22-2-1822, (CGA. 23/6).







- F *amma, mav*<sup>79</sup> = own mother.  
 F+ *loku ammā*<sup>80</sup> = mother's elder sister.  
 father's elder brother's wife.  
 F- *kuḍāmmā*<sup>81</sup> = mother's younger sister.  
 father's younger brother's wife.  
 step-mother.

## Generation III :

- G *nānā*<sup>82</sup> = daughter of father's sister  
 daughter of mother's brother. } sister-in-law<sup>75</sup>  
 H *massinā*<sup>83</sup> = son of father's sister  
 son of mother's brother. } brother-in-law<sup>75</sup>

I *Ego*

The general term for "brother" is *sahōdarayā*,<sup>84</sup> but elder and younger "brother's" are distinguished :

- I+ *ayiyā*<sup>85</sup> = elder brother.  
 male parallel-cousin older than ego.  
 I- *malli, malayā* = younger brother  
 male parallel-cousin, younger than ego.  
 J *sahōdarī*, the feminine of *sahōdarayā*, but elder and younger are again distinguished :  
 J+ *akkā* = elder sister.  
 female parallel-cousin older than ego.<sup>86</sup>  
 J- *naṃḡi, naḡā* = younger sister.  
 female parallel-cousin, younger than ego.

79. Also *ammandi*, a term of endearment.

80. Also *mahammā*.

81. Alternatively, *bāamma, punciāmmā*.

82. Or more respectfully, *nāndammā*.

83. In the N.C.P., the term *hūrā* is used nowadays for *massinā* older than Ego. But according to Ievers (1899) *hūrā* is a "male cousin," and among the Vāddās *hūrā*=*massinā* (Seligman 1923).

84. "This is Sanskrit which has displaced the old Sinhalese *sohoyuru, sohovuru* derived from *sahōdara*. The word etymologically means 'of the same womb,' yet in Ceylon it has been extended. In short it covers any male of the same generation whose relationship is 'straight' (i.e., parallel). (Hocart. 1924-8).

85. From skt. *ārya*, worthy.

86. "It is also used in addressing an elder brother's wife notwithstanding that this is really a crossed relationship." (Hocart. 1924-8).

## Generation IV :

- K *bānā* = son of "sister" = son-in-law<sup>87</sup>  
 L *duva* = own-daughter.  
 brother's daughter.  
 M *putā, putrayā* = own-son.  
 brother's son.  
 N *lēli, yēli* = daughter of sister = daughter-in-law.<sup>88</sup>

## Generation V :

- O *munuburā* = grandson.  
 P *minibiri* = grand-daughter.

The Sinhalese system as tabled above conforms to the so-called "classificatory" type of kinship. The distinguishing feature of the classificatory terminology is that terms applied to lineal relatives are extended to certain collateral relatives. Ego's father's brother is also called "father" (Class E), and his mother's sister "mother" (Class F); but there are separate terms for mother's brother (*māmā*) and father's sister (*nāndā*). Similarly Ego calls the children of his father's brothers and those of his mother's sisters, "brothers" (Class I) or "sisters" (Class J); but there are separate terms for the children of Ego's mother's brothers and father's sisters (Classes G and H). In other words, a distinction is drawn between *parallel-cousins* (children of the father's brothers, or mother's sisters) who are classified as "brothers" and "sisters,"<sup>88</sup> and *cross-cousins* (children of the mother's brothers or father's sisters). Nephews and nieces are similarly classified: the children of Ego's brothers are classified with his own children (Classes L and M), while his sisters' children form separate category (Classes K and N).<sup>89</sup>

A kinship system in its widest sense incorporates the social usages that relatives observe in their social contacts.<sup>90</sup> It prohibits certain classes of relatives from marrying, thus laying down the rules of incest. A consideration of the sanctioned and prohibited degrees of marriage suggests a significant structural principle of the Sinhalese system. The fundamental rule may be formulated thus :

87. In a cross cousin system.

88. Inverted commas indicate that these terms are used in the classificatory sense and are not restricted to own-brothers and own-sisters.

89. Inversely, Ego's sister would distinguish his children from the offspring of her sisters.

90. cf. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Study of Kinship Systems" (*J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* lxxi, 1941).



Rule (1) *A man marries his cross-cousin (i.e., his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter.)*

Cross-cousin marriage was an ancient Indian institution,<sup>91</sup> and the genealogy of Gautama Buddha shows that his family, the Sakyas, and his wife's family, the Koliyas, had intermarried in this fashion for generations.<sup>92</sup> The Sinhalese aristocracy rigidly adhered to the rule<sup>93</sup> and, generally, "it is held that there is so little affinity of blood between children of a brother and a sister that custom makes their intermarriage the most approved connection."<sup>94</sup> The term for crossed relationships, *avāssa* (from Skt. *avashya*) meaning "necessary," signifies the fact that one is not only permitted, but even enjoined to marry one's cross-cousin. It has already been mentioned that when a woman married an "outsider" her *avāssa massinā* received a "fee" of forty betel-leaves from the bridegroom, and his acceptance of this *kaḍḍa bulat* signified that he had voluntarily resigned his rightful claim to the bride, in favour of the "outsider," now admitted as his *massinā*.

In a consistent cross-cousin system marriage is regulated by kinship. There are no in-laws in such a regime, since everybody is related before marriage. The woman who was Ego's *nāndā* before marriage remains his "aunt" afterwards, and is not re-named "mother-in-law." Similarly Ego's wife is his *nāna*, but she is distinguished from his other female cross-cousins on account of her new role, as *gedara āttō* or *āttā*, house-wife, mistress of the house, or *gānī* (from Skt. *gehini*), with the same import; the expression *hāminē* (Skt. *svāmini*, mistress) was less frequently used, and the literary form *strī* hardly ever employed colloquially. A husband would also speak of "my family" (*pavula*, which properly connotes "wife and children," but has come to mean "wife.")<sup>95</sup>

Inversely, a woman marries her *massinā*, and in recognition of their new relationship after marriage, she refers to him as "my man," *māgē minihā*, or as "the father of Tikirāla," or "the father of (our) children" (*tikirālagē appā*, *lamayingē appā*): she would, in fact, prefer to refer to him by his title (e.g., *āraccī*), than to use the stilted Sanskrit loan-word *purushayā*. Indeed, the taboo on a wife referring directly to her husband which was far stricter than that on a husband naming his wife, was partly a mark of respect

91. Lewis H. Morgan named the cross-cousin system the Malayo-polyneesian.

92. cf. E. J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha*, (London, 1927), 26.

93. Vide. the mss. genealogy with the Kāpitiṭṭipola family, Handessa.

94. Sawers, *Digest*.

95. Other expressions for "wife" were *āmbuva*, *birinda*, *bhayayārva*, *dārāva*, *hiraya*, *patti*.

and partly because it was unlucky for a woman to name her husband.<sup>96</sup>

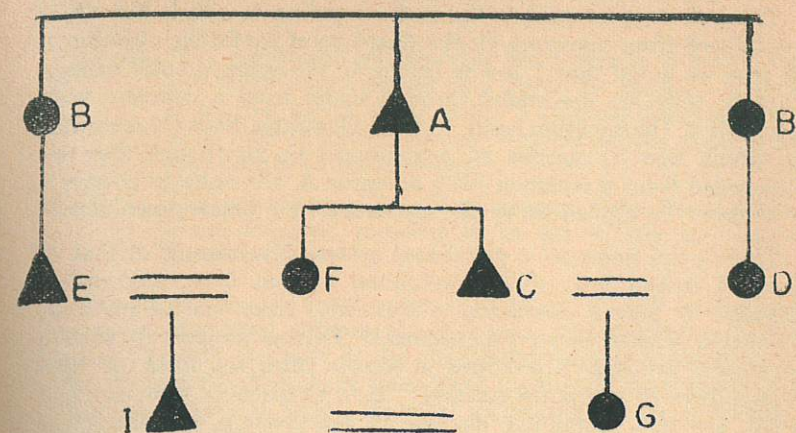


Fig. IV

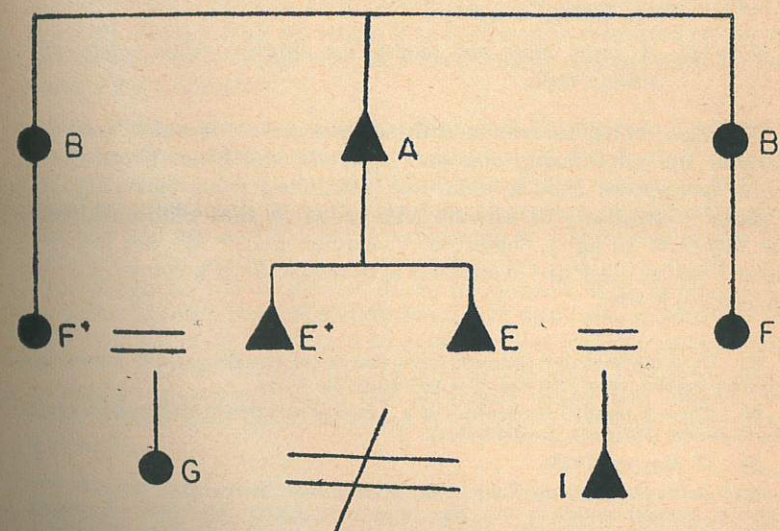


Fig. V

96. *Nayanāsara* has a household rule which states, "She who is fondly attached to the *Grihadharma*, and whose chief aim is conjugal fidelity, should not mention the name of her husband in this world in order that her own honour may be increased."



- Rule (2) *A man not marry his parallel-cousin (i.e., his father's brother's daughter or his mother's sister's daughter).*

This rule is illustrated in figure 2, according to which Ego (Z) is prohibited from marrying G, the daughter of his father's brother.<sup>97</sup> It may be noted that I and G belong to the same agnatic lineage, that is, they are descended through males from a common male ancestor A. On the other hand, Fig. III illustrates Rule (1) according to which Ego (I) marries his cross-cousin G, for though they are descended from a common male ancestor A, the agnatic lineage is "broken" in Ego's case by the mediation of a female ascendant F.

These rules point to a patrilineal system reminiscent of that of ancient Indian law, which prohibited a man from marrying a *sapinda* or person descended patrilineally from one of his male ancestors within seven generations.<sup>98</sup> Further support of such a structural principle is provided in certain rules set forth in Niti-nighanduva in a chapter entitled "How to discover what are, and what are not prohibited degrees of relationship in contracting marriages."

- Rule (3) *A man may not marry his paternal grandfather's brother's blood daughter.*

- Rule (4) *A man may not marry his brother-in-law's paternal uncle's wife.*

Marriages which contravened these rules were "sinful" (*vārādi*) because the relationship was one of *nāndā* and *bānā*. From these rules, it appears that a man was precluded from marrying his "sister" (*sahōdari*) or anyone who stood in that relationship to his father.<sup>99</sup> In fig. 1, therefore, C cannot marry B—his father's sister because they are descended agnatically from a common male ancestor AA.<sup>100</sup>

97. It is obvious that Ego may not marry his female parallel-cousin for her own-brother may join Ego in a polyandrous union.

98. There is parallel conception of a seven-generation patrilineage among the Sinhalese (*hat mutu paramparāva*).

99. cf. Hayley (1923).

100. Or in the Kinship Table ante M may not marry I—, who is his father's parallel cousin; and Ego may not marry his father's sister D. The stringency or the taboo is brought home in a *vitti-patrāya* of the 15th–16th centuries, which relate that a king finding that there were only two surviving descendants of a favoured *nayide* grantee related as aunt and nephew, gave the woman the option of marrying her nephew or being tied to a post, receiving 500 lashes and then having baskets filled with sand placed on her head and her body ripped open. These threats frightened the girl into carrying out the order which was apparently given to perpetuate the "line" (Bell, 1892, 98).

- Rule (5) *It is not considered improper for a man to marry his paternal grandmother's brother's wife's sister's daughter, though she stands in the relation of cousin to that man's wife.*
- Rule (6) *It is not considered improper for a woman to marry her step-father's cousin of the first degree, for though a cousin of the first degree of her mother's husband is looked upon as an elder or younger brother<sup>101</sup> of her mother, there is no impropriety in the marriage.*
- Rule (7) *It is not improper for a man to marry his maternal aunt's grand-daughter, provided he is not already married to her daughter.*

These three rules can be considered together. It will be noticed that these permitted degrees are reckoned cognatically, and not agnatically as in the case of the prohibited degrees formulated in Rules (2) and (3). It follows from Rule (5) that M may marry his own mother (G<sup>1</sup>).<sup>102</sup> This is a logical application of the patrilineal principle, for a glance at fig. 1 makes it evident that Ego (I) and his mother (F) do not belong to the same patrilineage. But Ego and his daughter are of the same patrilineage and presumably cannot marry. Rule (7) permits I+ to marry N (i.e., N marries her mother's brother). Finally Rule (6) states that a woman is permitted to marry her step-father's cousin who in a cross-cousin system may be her mother's own-brother.

The evidence then suggests that Sinhalese kinship was patrilineal. Further, since *diga* marriages predominated, the system tended to approximate to the type of kinship structure known as father-right or patriarchy. In such a system possession of a woman and her children are surrendered by marriage to her husband and his kin, while the mother's brothers and sisters have no rights over her offspring. "It is characteristic of systems that approximate to father-right," says Radcliffe-Brown, "that the mother's brothers and sisters are expected to extend to her children affectionate care and friendly indulgence, and that the sister's child is expected to exhibit affection towards the maternal aunts and uncles."<sup>103</sup> Such a pattern of social relations is strikingly evident among the Sinhalese.

A strong bond of affection existed between a maternal uncle and his sister's children. Hence the proverbs, "If one's maternal uncle had breasts to give milk, he is equivalent to a mother," and "It

101. *Āvussa masinnā ayiyā malayavu namuth.* (NN, Sinhalese text).

102. In the genealogical Table on p. 210 M's paternal grandmother = F, whose brother = C, whose wife = D, whose sister = D, whose daughter = G<sup>1</sup>

103. In *African Systems of Kinship*, 78.



is said that the thumb of the maternal uncle secretes milk."<sup>104</sup> At the *batkavana maṅgalla*, it was the maternal uncle who, holding a lamp in his hand, would give the infant his first mouthful of solid food (*kiri-bat*), at the same time whispering the child's name. "Such importance is attached to the relationship of the person who names the child that it is a common retort among the Sinhalese, 'Did you name me?' when it is considered that a person has presumed an acquaintance or claimed social equality to which he is not entitled. Similarly, the question, 'Is it you who fed me first with rice,'<sup>105</sup> is sometimes put."<sup>106</sup> The uterine nephew in turn, performed the ceremonial duty of lighting the funeral pyre of his mother's brother.

In short, these social relations make the maternal uncle a sort of "male mother." He does not exercise authority, and for that reason it is said that he is an unsuitable teacher for his sister's children. The relationship was such that he could with propriety marry his sister's daughter. It will be recalled that the relationship of paternal aunt to her brother's son is very different their marriage being incestuous. The father's brothers and sisters exercise authority over their nieces and nephews. The father's brother is the natural substitute of the father, and takes the latter's role in the event of his decease. Thus on the death of a boy's parents, he would, according to custom, be placed under the guardianship of his father's brother.<sup>107</sup>

The classificatory terminology which classifies parallel-cousins as "brothers" and "sisters," father's brother's as "fathers," and mother's sisters as "mothers," has been fruitful of rash and unwarranted speculation.<sup>108</sup> The kinship terminology does indeed fit in with the practice of polyandry. In such unions it was impossible for Ego to identify his own-father from his classificatory father, and his own-brothers from his classificatory brothers. Hence the legal fiction that the children were begotten by all the associated fathers. But all this in no way implies that polyandry is a *necessary* correlate of such a kinship terminology.

104. තනේ ඇත්තම් මාමා අම්මාලු; මාමාගේ මා පටුහිලට කිරි එරෙණවාලු.

105. මගේ කටේ බත් තැබුවේ උබද ?

106. Denham (1911), 180-182. But his statement (*ibid.*, 330) that a maternal uncle, if childless, makes a nephew or niece his heir, needs qualification. No such disposition was legally valid even if the testator had no heirs, unless there was a written instrument. In Kirti Sri's time the claim of a sister's son to share equally with a testator's son, was repudiated by the Great Court, and the nephew was placed in arrest in his own *valavva* for his violent assumption of rights that did not appertain to him (Lawrie Mss. II).

107. BJC. 25-9-1819 (Lawrie Mss.).

108. Thus Hayley (1923) postulates a stage of primal promiscuity between the sexes, an echo of the pseudo-historical theory of group marriage put forward by Lewis Morgan in his *Ancient Society*, (1878).

The question then arises whether the rigid determinism which Rivers sought in kinship structures, was justified.<sup>109</sup> Such determinism would be indisputable if kinship terminology were ever responsive to changing social usage. Rivers himself pointed out that although the disappearance of cross-cousin marriage was not accompanied by corresponding terminological changes, social usages such as the symbolic battle for the bride between the cross-cousin who should have married her, and the "outsider" who ousted him, were indicative of the change.<sup>110</sup> It would be incorrect, however, to conclude that kinship nomenclature is always responsive to changing social practice. If that were so, the fact that Ego and his own-brothers did not inherit equally with their parallel cousins would have given rise to a distinction between these categories in the Sinhalese kinship terminology, which is not the case.

What can be inferred is that even if the jural factors are absent or are known to have disappeared, the persistence of a given terminology may be correlated with other extra-jural factors. In other words, there are besides the juristic relations, certain personal bonds of attachment and affection (Aristotle's *philotes*). The general sociological proposition that emerges is, "that the inclusion of two relatives in the same terminological category implies that there is some significant similarity in the customary behaviour due to both of them, while inversely the placing of two relatives in different categories implies some significant difference in customary behaviour or social relations."<sup>111</sup> Thus, although from the juristic point of view there is a difference between own-brothers and male parallel-cousins in respect of inheritance, the common classificatory terms have their philotic basis in the authoritarian attitude of the classificatory "brothers" towards their classificatory "sons" and "daughters."

It may be mentioned that the reckoning of descent patrilineally was not always followed in the case of the royal family. There is evidence of matrilineal succession, even "mother right," in the case of certain dynasties reigning between the ninth and twelfth centuries.<sup>112</sup> In the Kandyan dynasties, however, succession was

109. W. H. R. Rivers, *Kinship and Social Organization* (London 1928).

110. cf. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Marriage of Cross-cousins in India" (*JRAS.* 1907. 611-640). In certain Sinhalese districts, the mock battle takes the form of an exchange of ribald verses. But cp. the more usual act symbolizing resignation of the cross-cousin's claim to the bride in his acceptance of a bundle of betel leaves from the outsider-bridegroom.

111. Radcliffe-Brown, *African Systems of Marriage*, 9.

112. Paranavitana (1933), Geiger in *Clv.*, xxii-xxiii, also sees evidence of "mother-right," but his account of the favoured position of the sister's son (Pāli: *bhaginēyya*), who was appointed to high office by his maternal uncle, points rather to the social relations of affection existing in a patriarchal regime.



usually reckoned through males.<sup>113</sup> The co-existence of two lineage systems is indicated in Knox's statement that Rājasimha II had a child by his daughter: "But this manner of Incest is allowable in Kings, if it be only to beget right Royal Issue, which can only be gotten that way. But in all others it is held abominable, and severely punished."<sup>114</sup> Even among the common people, the incidence of *binna* or matrilineal marriages makes it impossible to describe the Sinhalese system as perfect example of "father-right." For in the *binna* household it was the wife and her kin who exercised authority, and the children took their mother's family name.<sup>115</sup> But the authorities agree that such matrilineal marriages were the exception rather than the rule, and were usually confined to heiresses.

A sociological analysis of "succession" in the broader sense of transmission of rights and obligations in general, and not merely inheritance of property,<sup>116</sup> besides demonstrating the existence of a social structure approximating to "father-right," underlines the manner in which the kinship system evolves as an orderly and workable complex of social relations defined by social usage. The institutional basis of "succession" may be considered to have been the fundamental moral and legal axiom that it was obligatory for a *paterfamilias*, during his lifetime, to support his indigent offspring. Children were equally obliged to assist their infirm parents, and they could not complain if parents endowed their ancestral acres to a stranger in consideration of assistance and support, if they themselves neglected their filial duties: in such event the law required a testator to expressly disinherit his undutious heirs-at-law.<sup>117</sup>

Generally, the paternal estate was divided amongst the male issue, and the only preference for the eldest son was that he was given the largest share of the landed property—usually the land

113. cf. Ferguson (1932).

114. Knox (1681), 60. It was not unusual also with the *roḍiṃyas* "to lay with their Daughters, or for the Son to lay with his Mother" (*ibid.*, 113). Hartshorne (1870) states that Vāddās married their own sisters and daughters. Herport (1669) mentions incest among the Sinhalese (the crucial passage has been expunged from the Colombo Museum edition, 1953, p.29.) The moral censure of oedipus relations has blinded scholars to the plain fact that such "incestuous" marriages were permitted at one time. Incest, after all, is merely a matter of convention, and although the oedipus relation is now condemned among humans, it is highly favoured by animal breeders—"to beget right Royal Issue!"

115. In *Walpokenedegedera Bingoomaalhamy vs. Walpokenedegedera Jailooralle*, BJC. 11-12-1828, (CGA. 23/23), the Chiefs stated that the marriage of a woman in *binna* clearly reinstated her in all her hereditary rights and privileges.

116. cf. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (London, 1952), 53.

117. cf. Pieris (1955) for details.

on which the *mulgedara* stood—in consideration of his role as head of the family, on the death of his father.<sup>118</sup> But where the heirs contracted a polyandrous union, no division of the paternal estate was made at all. If a widow survived, she continued to have a life interest in her late husband's estate, more precisely she was entitled to maintenance therefrom, but the eldest son, if he had reached manhood, assumed the responsibilities of *paterfamilias*.<sup>119</sup> It will be seen that the patriarchal group rarely extended over three generations.

In a regime of "father-right" the father was obliged to support his daughters until they married, and it was his duty also to arrange suitable marriages, and to provide them with dowries. After his death, these duties devolved upon his son, the eldest of whom was regarded as the *paterfamilias*. If a daughter was "given in *diga*" (*diga dila*, the expression for a patrilineal marriage), she was given a dower of money, jewellery, clothes and other moveables, and was entitled to return to the *mulgedara* and claim maintenance if she divorced. It will be seen, then, that the question debated by authorities on Kandyan law as to whether there was a preference for males in the law of inheritance<sup>120</sup> is hardly of importance in social practice, for a male who inherited to the exclusion of his unmarried or *diga*-married sisters, inherited also the onus of supporting such sisters whenever they chose to return to his house, besides providing for any children they brought with them. The reason was that a woman was under the authority of the *paterfamilias* and was obliged to accept the husbands chosen for her, and she was justified in returning if the choice turned out badly: the proverb was that women were born to three miseries, 1st., to quit the place of their birth,<sup>121</sup> 2nd., to bear the pains of child-birth, 3rd., to be under subjection to their husbands.<sup>122</sup>

118. In *Arrawegedera Peheneralle vs. his two brothers*, BJC. 9-11-1824, (CGA. 23/13), this was stated to be the custom. It is confirmed in NN, 66.

119. Even today a Kandyan widow will treat her eldest son in the same manner as her late husband, i.e. as head of the house, cooking and serving his meals until he marries.

120. In the old law a *diga*-married daughter lost her right of inheritance on the death of her father. But if she married after his death she did not lose that right (cf. the evidence of the Kandyan deputation before the Special Commission on the Constitution of Ceylon 1927, Royal Court of Justice, London, Vol. 4).

121. This clearly indicates that *diga* marriages were the rule.

122. Sawers (1826). In *Sri Rāhulas Kāvyaśekharaṇa*, (Mendis ed. 1935), an aged Brahmin advises his daughter on the eve of her marriage, that she should be submissive to the parents and relations of her husband. Want of obedience on the part of young wives to mothers-in-law is reproached in the ballad *Daru Naguna Kavi* (19th cent.)



## III

## THE FAMILY AND THE CRISES OF LIFE

IN the genealogical table (Fig. III), the elementary family consists of Ego (I), his wife (G), and their children (a daughter L, and a son M). Although the kinship terminology did not differentiate between these two children and those of their father's brothers, the law of inheritance did make such a distinction, in the interests of the elementary family. But it commonly happened that one or more of Ego's "brothers" (i.e., own-brothers and parallel cousins) may enter into an "associated connection" with him. Less frequently, there might be a situation of sororal polygyny as well, and two brothers I and I- might contract a joint-marriage with G and her elder sister G+. Finally, the family could be artificially extended by the adoption of a child, which fact was legally recognized for purposes of inheritance only if it was by written deed or public announcement (e.g., when people were returning from a *pimkāma*).<sup>123</sup>

It is remarkable how often property in land turned out to be the pivotal point of family unity. A man could not legally bequeath his lands to strangers to the exclusion of his heirs-at-law unless the latter were expressly disinherited in a written document, setting forth the cause of disinheritance.<sup>124</sup> But the prospect of disinheritance was sufficient to prevent children from neglecting their filial duties. The *mulgedara* sheltered all the children of a *paterfamilias*, not excluding married daughters who returned from their husbands. If the estate was subdivided, the unity of the sibling group was at an end. In order to keep the ancient *pravēni* property intact, daughters who married "outside" (*diga*) received no share, and were given money and moveables as dowry. Sons could solve the problem of fragmentation by uniting in a polyandrous marriage. A last device for preventing fragmentation was for the brothers to hold the estate undividedly in *taṭṭumāru* succession, i.e., the coparceners cultivated the whole estate for a season, in turns. But in late Kandyan times the unity of the patriarchally-oriented family was seriously threatened, and fragmentation of estates in the course of several generations gave rise to frequent and prolonged litigation. Fragmentation was reduced, however, on account of the small number of children in the typical family: many women did not

desire to have children at all, and very rarely did a woman bear more than four or five children.<sup>125</sup>

Despite the fact that a marriage could be terminated by mutual consent, the law ensured that the integrity of the family was maintained. The fact that there was legal provision for the maintenance of children was an impediment to the free and easy dissolution of marriages. A man who quitted a joint connection with his brother, was obliged to assign part of his land for the support of the issue.<sup>126</sup> It is not surprising then that many women did not desire to have children, and "they very exquisitely can prevent the same" (Knox). If a wife left her husband against his wish, he had the option of retaining all the children, or constraining her to take a certain number with her, not exceeding half their number. On the other hand, if the husband repudiated his wife without cause she had the option either of refusing to take the children with her, or of demanding to have one or two to be at her disposal, and even if she contracted another *diga* (partilocal) marriage such children still retained a legal right to inherit their father's property. If a wife thus repudiated was without means of support, a *gam sabhāva* was empowered to make her a suitable award of clothing, and if pregnant she was entitled to maintenance until the child was old enough to be delivered to her husband (few mothers exercised the privilege of retaining such offspring, as it was considered a burden to maintain a child).<sup>127</sup> The proverb that "the wife divorced when pregnant shall have six months' food and clothing was, as in the case of so many proverbs, a legal maxim.<sup>128</sup>

125. Davy (1821), 287. In evidence deposed in Kandyan land cases of the early nineteenth century, there are repeated references to an exceedingly high rate of infant mortality, and seldom did more than half the number of children born in a family survive to adolescence.

126. *Narangodage vs. Geegane*, BJC. 15-10-1823, (CGA 23/11, Pt. 1).

127. D'Oyly (1835), 129.

128. Stated and applied by the Chiefs in *Welligalle Dodangewatte Dingiri Menika vs. Palekumbure Kavralle*, BJC. 29-11-1825. (CGA. 23/16). "Here a man the moment he grows tired of a woman can repudiate her by sending her back to her village with the property she brought as a marriage Portion and a sufficiency of food for six months," commented James Gay, Judicial Commissioner, citing the case of Appuhāmy, a chief, who first married from the family of Kabellavitte Gabaḍā Nilamē and sent her back to her village with their child, and took a second wife from the family of Poduvaveligamedara who bore him two children. He repudiated her and married two wives, one from Seven Kōrales, and died bequeathing his property to these two wives (BC, 30-12-1816, CGA 21/110). Apparently, repudiation of wives was so frequent that no claim was even made for support. But it may be noted that frequent and easy divorce is not necessarily symptomatic of social disorganization, for divorce may be institutionalised as an orderly and acceptable procedure (cf. Gideon Sjoberg, "The Comparative Method in the Social Sciences," *Philosophy of Science*, 22/ii, 1955. 106/112).

123. *Ali Adura Lebbe vs. Uduma Lebbe*, BJC. 11-2-1829, (CGA. 23/24).

124. cf. Pieris (1955).



Besides the institutions of civil law which promoted family solidarity, the numerous ceremonies connected with the "crises of life" which punctuated the life-cycle, tended to underline the rights and duties of members of a family one to another, and instilled in the young the virtues of filial piety and respect to elders. As soon as a child was born a metal plate or vessel was struck a few times like a gong. If the new-born was a male, a member of the family threw the bullock yoke (*viya gaha*) from the front to the back of the house over the roof, if it was a girl the paddy pestle (*mōl gaha*) was so thrown.<sup>129</sup> The floor of the room was washed the same day with cowdung and the laundress called to wash the soiled clothes. The mother and child were never left alone for five days, for fear of evil influences. Within a few hours of birth a drop of milk rubbed with a gold ring (*ran-kiri*, "gold-milk") is applied on the infant's mouth.<sup>130</sup>

A ceremony had to be arranged when a child was first fed with rice and given his *bat nama* or "rice-name," usually at the age of seven months. "At a fortunate day, that has been calculated, the relations and friends of the family assemble; and, at a fortunate hour, the grandfather, or, should both grandfathers be dead, the father, takes a little rice in his fingers, puts it into the child's mouth, and at the same time gives it its name. An entertainment is made on the occasion, at which the men sit down together, and before the women; and each is served with the best the house affords, on a piece of plantain-leaf."<sup>131</sup> The care of children was equally divided between the parents. Mothers almost universally suckled their children for the long period of four five years, either in part or entirely.<sup>132</sup> The onset of the crisis of puberty in girls was celebrated by elaborate *koṭahalu* rites. After a short period of confinement in a separate room (*kiligē*, "impurity-house") for two or three days according to the astrologer's advice, guarded all the while by a female relative for fear that the girl might be possessed by evil spirits (*tanikama*) if left alone, a *koṭahalu magula* or "short-cloth feast" followed.<sup>133</sup> However lax adolescent sexual morals may have been, the ritual of marriage was one of the important social ceremonies, and weddings were celebrated with certain minimal formalities in order to distinguish wedded life from mere concubinage.

During the last hours of a person's life, members of the family would summon the priest of the village temple to officiate at a

129. The *mōlgaha* was obviously a phallic symbol.

130. cf. Nevill (1887).

131. Davy (1821), 287. Nevill (1887) says that the rice, cooked in milk, is given to the child from a leaf, from which a cat is enticed to eat first and receive any evil influences that might lurk in the rice.

132. Davy, *loc. cit.*

133. cf. *Koṭahalupota*; Hocart (1928).

*godāne* ceremony (cf. Appendix). If the medical skill of the *vedarāla* had proved ineffectual, the family of the sick man might, in a last bid to save life, arrange for planetary or demon ceremonies before inviting the Buddhist monk. For the religious ceremonies of the common people, as Knox said, were of two sorts, "some belong to their Gods that govern the Earth, and all things referring to this life, and some belonging to the Buddou, whose province is to take care of the Soul<sup>134</sup> and the future well being of Men." Consequently, *bali*<sup>135</sup> ceremonies were performed if a man was considered to have been afflicted by a planet. An effigy of the planet-god is made, a string tied to it and the other end given to the patient, and the astrologer-drummers rid the sick man of his disease with appropriate dances and songs. If the patient's illness was caused by possession by one of the eighteen *sanni* responsible for the eighteen diseases,<sup>136</sup> (*yaksayō karana leḍa*) a ceremony consisting of drumming, singing and masked dancing was arranged, to exorcise the offending deity.<sup>137</sup>

On the death of a person, various duties devolved upon his family:

' Their first duty is to turn the head of the corpse to the westward. They then decently compose the limbs, tie the great toes together, place the expanded hands on the chest, wash the body [by pouring a few pitchers of water upon it], dress it in its best clothes, and deck it with the ornaments worn during life. Every respectable family burns its dead. The funeral pile consists of a layer of cocoanut shells, a layer of husks of the cocoanut, and an upper layer of wood, altogether about three feet high, confined by strong stakes. The body, dressed and decked as described, is laid on the pile and covered with wood, to the height of about three feet more. If the dead were a person of high rank, as a *maha-nīlame* or *disāva*, the corpse is carried in a palanquin, preceded by the mourning tom-tom: in all instances, it is followed by the male relations, and it is generally attended by a priest. The funeral fire is kindled by the nearest relation of the deceased; and the priest recites prayers for the happiness of the deceased in a future state of existence. When the body is

134. The idea of the soul in Sinhalese religion is extremely complicated. The term *ātmaya* is used in the sense of "self," *prānaya* in the sense of "breath," and *jīvaya* in the sense of "life." "By the influence of Buddhism the animal soul (of folk religion) became a composing element of a living being (*skandaya*, *khandā*), and had been identified with various aspects of the body as form, sound, scent etc. Therefore no word was necessary for denominating that concept. The other idea, the concept of a spiritual soul or soul in the proper sense, was quite opposed to the Buddhist ideology, and therefore it has been amalgamated in the language with the Buddhist Ego, the idea of an unanimated (*anatto*) person which is the function of bodily elements absolutely devoid of any spiritual or transcendental substance. Therefore the idea of a spiritual soul has been lost in the language, although it survives still in the mentality of the present Sinhalese" (Pertold. 1929).

135. In Sanskrit *bali* means an offering of food to various beings; in Pāli an offering to subordinate deities and demons (Hocart. 1950. 8).

136. cf. the list in Wirtz (1954). A set of masks representing each demon-disease was used. There is a collection in the Colombo Museum.

137. cf. Pieris (1953).



consumed, the friends return to their homes, after having surrounded the ashes with slips of the young leaf of the cocoanut tree, supported on sticks, to point out that the spot is sacred. At the expiration of seven days, they come back with priests, and having collected the ashes into a little heap, cover them with a pile of stones, a few feet high. Sometimes they remove them in an earthen pot, and deposit them near some *vihāra*, or in the family burying-ground. The priests conclude the ceremony with a moral discourse, inculcating resignation, the doing of good, the shunning of evil, and attention to the duties of religion. Generally, men alone attend funerals.. Low-caste people are not allowed to burn their dead; they bury the corpse with little ceremony, in a grave three or four feet deep, with its head to the west.<sup>138</sup>

Since no fire could be kindled in a funeral-house, food for the mourning family was supplied by obliging neighbours. The mourning colour was black. The women, "mourning more for fashion than affection," let loose their hair and began the three or four mornings following the death by "crying and roaring as loud as they can, much praising and extolling the Virtues of the deceased: tho there were none in him: and lamenting their own woeful condition to live without him."<sup>139</sup> Those who died of the *maha leḍa* or Great Plague, small-pox, were buried on thorns, without further ceremony.<sup>140</sup> After the funeral rites were completed the people who participated washed themselves, for they were polluted by handling the dead.<sup>141</sup>

138. Davy (1821), 290-291.

139. Knox (1681), 185.

140. Knox, *op. cit.*, 186.

141. Those who participated in a king's funeral, even if their sole duty was to bear a shield in the procession, could not be employed by the succeeding king, it being the custom of the country that a late king's successor must not employ these polluted individuals (*Talmuke Muhandiram Rala vs. Amunugama Appuhamy*, BJC. 10-7-1817. CGA. 23/3).

## APPENDIX

### DICKSON ON THE GODANE CEREMONY\*

THIS *pimkama* (*jīvadānam*), called in Sinhalese *godāne*, takes place when a man thinks himself soon about to die. The priest of the village *vihāra* officiates. A few days' notice is usually given, and on the appointed day the man's sons and relations go in the evening to the *vihāra* with an offering of flowers, oil, and necessities for the evening meal. After making their offering at the *vihāra* they go to the priest's residence, and thence conduct the priest with his *bana* book to the house, where a temporary preaching hall is made ready. After the priest has finished his evening meal, the sick man and his relations assemble to hear *bana*. On these occasions the priest reads and explains some portions of a Sinhalese book, such as the *ratnāvaliḡa*. This lasts for about six English hours. If the priest's residence is near he returns to it, if not he retires to rest at the house.

Next morning the priest is supplied with his morning meal. His mid-day meal is made ready with great ceremony, and when it is over the following offerings are made: a brass water-pot, a lamp, a spitting pot, a bill-hook, a mamoty, an adaze, an axe, a chisel, a mat and a pillow, a basin and a plate, some fruit and some cooked food, and the usual small boxes in which the articles used by betel-chewers are carried—in short, all the ordinary articles of daily use. They are put down in front of the priest, and a piece of calico 16 or 20 cubits long is brought out; one end of it is given to the priest, and the sick man's relations hold on to the other end. The relations then say:

'To the venerable priest who is here present as the representative of the holy succession of priests who have received ordination uninterruptedly from the times of Sariputto Maha Moggalano, we make this offering in behalf of our father Punchirāla in order that he may be born in the world of gods, and finally attain the eternal rest of *nirvāna*.'

The cloth is put down with the offerings, and the priest says '*Ichchitam paththitam*,' &c.

May your desire and your happiness  
Soon be accomplished,  
May your hopes be fulfilled  
Like as the moon becomes round.

By reverence do the wise secure health for their bodies  
By almsgiving do they lay on treasures for themselves  
By piety do they secure for ever prosperity of life  
The wise have not sorrow at their death.

After giving the benediction the priest rises to depart, and is conducted back to his residence with the offerings he has received, which are borne in procession, accompanied by music and dancers.

\* Dickson (1884).



When a man is at the point of death he generally sends for the priest, who, after repeating the Three Refuges and the Five Commandments,<sup>1</sup> reads to him that portion of the *Satipaṭṭhana suttam* which sets forth the unprofitableness of having regard for the body.

---

1. The Three Refuges were : I Put my trust in Buddha, I put my trust in the Law, I put my trust in the Church. The Five Commandments were : Refrain from taking life, Refrain from stealing, Refrain from fornication, Refrain from lying, Refrain from using strong drinks.

PART SEVEN  
AN ISOLATED PROVINCE  
( *Nuvarakalāviya* )



## CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

IN the foregoing chapters, attention has been concentrated on social organization in the *kanda uḍa kaṭṭuva* or "country above the mountains," considered as a geographical entity. This region formed the core of the Kandyan kingdom and was consequently most subject to state control. Strongly fortified by nature, the central highlands could only be reached from the Littoral along tracks so narrow that two people could scarcely walk abreast, "ascending and descending these stupendous hills which reared themselves as if designed by nature to oppose our progress to the presence of so great and august a Majesty as in this part of the world the king of Kandy is considered."<sup>1</sup> In order to secure the capital from coastal invaders and spies, the approaches were barred by thorn-gates (*kaḍavat*), and an incessant vigil was kept by sentinels who examined all who sought access to *kanda uḍa*.<sup>2</sup>

Although the suzerainty of the kings extended to the remoter *disāvanēs* whose inhabitants were avowedly "united under one canopy," it was only natural that these nether provinces were less subject to political surveillance than were the *uḍa raṭa*. In the latter fifteenth century the inhabitants of Four Kōraḷēs made a formal declaration of allegiance to Sēna Sammata Vikrama Bāhu, an independent ruler of the *kanda uḍa kaṭṭuva*,<sup>3</sup> and if the loyalty of this neighbouring province could not be taken for granted, the sovereign's control over the remoter districts must have been weak indeed.<sup>4</sup> Even under the kings of Kandy it may be said in general that the degree of state control over a given region was in inverse ratio to its distance from the capital, and at one extreme certain northerly villages of the kingdom have been described as autonomous republics, subject to little control by royal officials. The legal disputes of the inhabitants of these distant *disāvanēs* rarely, if ever, reached the Great Court (*maha naḍuva*), and were settled at the highest level by the *disāva* who had extensive powers within his province.

1. Andrews (1795).

2. Knox (1681) mentions the peculiar temperament of the highlanders who though outwardly courteous, were ill-natured, false, and unkind, in contrast to the kind and compassionate low-landers.

3. cf. the Alutnuvara Slab Inscription, (*EZ.* III. No. 34).

4. In the same period, Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI, ruling from Kōṭṭe (c.A.D. 1412-1467) found the inhabitants of the border provinces acting in a hostile manner, and was confronted with a nation-wide rebellion (*siṃhala saṃgē*) cf. the Dādigama Slab Inscription in *EZ.* III, No. 29.



While there is no doubt that the *disāvanēs* were subject to "indirect rule," historical data for the study of the relationship between central and local government in the several provinces of the Kandyan kingdom, is extremely fragmentary. There is, however, inscriptional evidence of the nature of local government in the tenth century which provides interesting material for comparison with local autonomy of the nether provinces of the Kandyan kingdom. According to the Vēvālkāṭiya Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV (reg. c A.D. 953-969), the unit of local government was a group of ten villages (*dasagam*). The principal headmen and householders investigated crimes and kept a record for inspection by royal officials on circuit. These local bodies were also empowered to enforce the observation of caste rules.<sup>5</sup> Since copies of the Vēvālkāṭiya Slab have been found elsewhere, it may be concluded that this form of local government was widespread in the tenth century. Under Udaya III who ruled from Anurādhapura circa A.D. 942-952, a deputation of village representatives of Hopiṭagamu in the distant province of Ūva, complained to the king that local magistrates were going beyond the prescribed limits in their dealings with the people, and sought redress.<sup>6</sup> During this period the village headman was a royal official with magisterial powers.<sup>7</sup>

The Anurādhapura district, which at the period of the above-mentioned inscriptions was the centre of government, had since the thirteenth century been depopulated; a large part of the region was allowed to turn into dense jungle, and many of the "tanks" which irrigated the village fields had been abandoned. Robert Knox has left a graphic account of the route to this distant outpost of the Kandyan kingdom, for he traversed it in his escape from the *uḍa raṭa* in the mid-seventeenth century. Northwards, from the border of Seven Kōraḷēs, the villages were widely dispersed and the route to Nuvarakalāviya was through high forest (*mūkulāna*), full of "wild elephants, tigers, and Bears." It was impossible to discover where there were villages until one came within earshot of them.<sup>8</sup> "From Anurādhapura it is two days Journey further through a desolate Wilderness before there is any more inhabitants."<sup>9</sup> In the northern extremity of the kingdom, the vegetation consisted of short, shrubbed, jungle.<sup>10</sup>

5. *EZ.* I. 241 et seq.

6. *EZ.* III, 71 et seq.

7. cf. Paranavitana (1931). In the time of the Mahavamsa, "the *gamika* was not a village headman in the present-day sense, but a member of the lower segment of the nobility." (Nicholas. 1950).

8. Knox (1681), 262.

9. *Ibid.*, 253.

10. *Ibid.*, 265.

Yet this desolate region, scattered with pillars and other remains of ancient buildings, was not entirely cut off from the doings of the Court. Even as Knox stayed in the house of the local governor, word was received from the capital through soliders, that the watchers be guarded in order to prevent the escape of relatives of certain noblemen lately imprisoned by the king. But these far-off turmoils did not prevent the local governor from entertaining his guests. "That Night he being disposed to be merry, sent for people whose trade it is to dance and shew tricks, to come to his house to entertain him with their Sports. The beholding them spent most part of the night."<sup>11</sup> These local governors were the *vanni-unnāhēs*, and some of them, according to Knox, though paying tribute to the Dutch in Jaffna, stood more affected to the Kandyan Court. The *vanni-unnāhēs* flourished in Seven Kōraḷēs and in Nuvarakalāviya and the government of these two provinces took the form of a dual control by the *disāva* as the king's representative on the one hand, and these local governors on the other.

In the following sections an attempt will be made to describe the working of the social system in the Nuvarakalāviya district. This region has been selected not because it was typical of the nether provinces of the Kandyan kingdom, but rather on account of the existence of historical data which is lacking for other areas. The exact date at which this region became the sparsely populated forest which Knox described in the mid-seventeenth century is impossible to determine: it was probably in the same state when Kandy first became the capital of the kingdom in the last decade of the sixteenth century. What is more certain is that even two centuries after Knox's account, the ecology of this province remained unchanged.<sup>12</sup> The social system here described, extant in the latter nineteenth century and even in the present century,<sup>13</sup> had probably been in operation for the preceding two or three centuries, if not longer. But exactly how far the system may be projected back in time, is a futile quest. Suffice to say that the social system here analysed represents Nuvarakalāviya in its decline, and not the period of Anurādhapura in its glory, for the zenith of the "tank" civilization was at an end by the time Bhuvanaika Bāhu I moved his capital to Dambadeniya in the latter thirteenth century.

11. Knox (1681), 254.

12. What little connection the province retained with the central government was practically lost when the British administered Nuvarakalāviya from Jaffna. It was only in 1873 that the North-Central Province was administered from Anurādhapura.

13. Dr. E. R. Leach, writing from the field (Puleliya, near Madawachchiya, 1954) tells me that a considerable part of what I have here described is still current custom in the area.



## II THE NUCLEATED VILLAGE

THE general impression of the "tank" country to be gained from an elevated point, is an interminable jungle dotted by specks of yellow-green paddy fields appended to glittering expanses of water. The nucleated village settlement which was a characteristic feature of the tank region consisted of a cluster of dwellings situated by the side of the village fields, each homestead being surrounded by a *vatta* or "garden" for fruit trees and vegetable plots. The straw-thatched, mud-wattled house usually consisted of two rooms opening into a verandah. Opposite the hut was the *atuva*, a raised wicker-work cylinder for storing grain, and beside the house was an open shed (*maḍuva*) for cattle, with a loft for agricultural implements.<sup>14</sup>

In short, "each village consists, firstly, of the tank and the fields below it; secondly, of the huts of the shareholders hidden in the shade of their fruit trees, either under the bund or along the sides of the field; and thirdly, of all the waste lands within the boundaries of the parish or village."<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the entire Nuvarakalāviya district was composed of a number of such small agricultural republics, each nucleated village having its tank, and a field below it. The duty of maintaining the tank and its channels in repair devolved upon the village community, each *paṃgukāraya* or shareholder being bound to contribute his share of labour in proportion to his share in the field.<sup>16</sup> The effective member of the village community was the *paṃgukāraya*. Several families of the same caste, usually related to one another, inhabited the nucleated village,<sup>17</sup> and each *gama* had one or two hereditary *gamarālas* or headmen whose share of land was known as the *gamvasama*.<sup>18</sup>

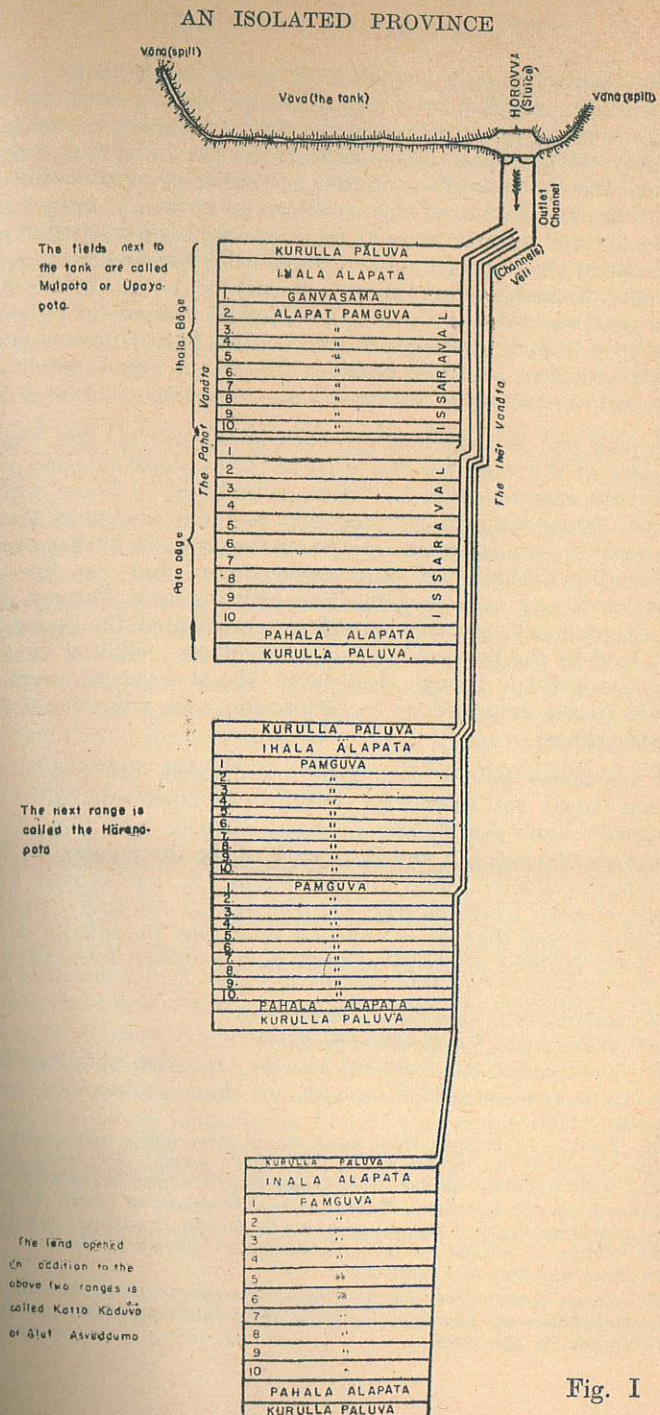
14. cf. Phear (1880).

15. Rhys Davids (1871), 90. The settlement itself was situated on one or both sides of the field. (Dickson. 1873).

16. Dickson, *ibid.* 5.

17. Of 1070 villages in the North Central Province listed by Ievers (1889), only 9 were mixed caste villages.

18. Modern villages have several *gamarālas* and a corresponding number of *gamvasam*, due to subdivision by inheritance, and eclipse of the *gamarāla's* authority. When the *gamarāla* was a man of authority, a village having more than one headman, always recognised the superior authority of the chief *gamarāla* (*pradhāna gamarāla*) cf. SSS *passim*.





Most villages had only a single field, usually an irregular clearing in the jungle, irrigated by a flow of water passing from the tank through a masonry culvert piercing the lowest part of the bund. The more elevated part of the field nearer the bund was irrigated first, and the water overflowed into a succession of gently undulating flats below. The field itself was a continuous stretch of muddy land, usually divided into three tracts (*poṭa* or *vela*): *mulpoṭa*,<sup>19</sup> the main tract nearest the tank; *härenapoṭa*<sup>20</sup> below it; and finally the *asvād-dumpoṭa*.<sup>21</sup> In small villages there were only two *poṭas*. On either side of the *poṭa* was the *vanāta*, a strip of jungle cleared for protection of the crop from the ravages of wild beasts. Each *poṭa* was further divided into two or three portions known as *bāga*—*ihalabāge* or upper section, *mādabāge* or centre, and *pahalabāge* or lower section.

The *poṭa* had two small strips, each approximately five fathoms wide, one at the tank end, the other at the opposite extreme, called *kurulupālu*, compensation for "damage by birds."<sup>22</sup> These, together with two larger strips at each end next to them, known as *ālapat*,<sup>23</sup> and a strip known as *gamvasama*<sup>24</sup> were the property of the *gamarāla*, the hereditary chief cultivator or headman, and was free from obligation to any work in connection with the tank. The rest of the field situated between the two *ālapat* constituted the *issaraval* or strips held by the *paṃgukārayō* or shareholders including the *gamarāla*, whose strips though designated *ālapat issaraval*, were held subject to the same duties in connection with irrigation-duty as were the others.

As mentioned before, each *poṭa* was divided into two or three sections (*bāga*), and these *bāga* contained an equal number of strips (*issaraval*). Each shareholder held one strip in each *bāge*. Thus if there were two *bāges*, A and B, in each of the three *poṭas*, X, Y and Z, each shareholder would hold six strips, i.e., one in each *bāge* or section of each tract (cf. Fig. I). The reason for this distribution of holdings was that good and bad land may be equally divided. The total number of strips in each village varied from twenty to

19. Alternatively, *upayāpoṭa* or *purānapoṭa*.

20. Alternatively, *peralapoṭa* or *geṇapoṭa*.

21. Alternatively, *kaṭṭakaḍuvela*, *koṭuvala*, *koṭṭangalla*, or *alut-asvādduma*.

22. In some accounts the *kurulupālu* are situated in the four corners of each *poṭa*. (SSS).

23. Brodie (1856) says that these *ālapat* were called *ihala* and *pahala ālapata* (shares at the upper and lower water-courses), and being less productive than the other shares, were larger than the rest. According to Codrington (1938), there were no *ālapat* in the *härenapoṭa* of small villages, nor in the *asvāddumpoṭa*, but instead *aniyan daha baṃba*, "unfixed ten fathoms," at the bottom. A similar ten fathoms was found instead of the lower *ālapat* where there was only one *gamarāla*.

24. Ievers (1899) gives the position of the *gamvasam* next to the *ālapat* in the *ihala bāge* only. Codrington (1938), 63-64 found a different arrangement in Vavūniya. cp. also SSS.

eighty, and if there were ten shareholders, as was usually the case, each held from two to eight dispersed strips. Within each *bāge* the *issaraval* or strips were of equal size, and each strip was originally held by one man, but the different *bāga* could be identified at a glance by the fact that the width of the strips differed in each section, e.g., strips in *bāga A* would be seven fathoms, and those of *bāga B*, five. It may be mentioned that an *issara* or strip was sometimes ambiguously referred to as a *paṃguva* or share. Strictly speaking, a man's "share" comprised his several *issaraval* which were dispersed in the various sections of each tract, together with his rights in connection with the tank and the adjacent jungle. But sometimes, when each shareholder had two *issaraval* in a section, the two strips would be referred to as a *paṃguva*.<sup>25</sup> The *issara* was really a strip divided across the field by ridges parallel to the tank bund, and each strip was further sub-divided into small "squares" known as *liyāddi*.

It was the *gamarāla*'s duty to build the fences at the top and bottom of the field (*ālapatvāṭa*). The fences at the sides of the field were known as *ihatvāṭa* and *pahatvāṭa*, and these were put up jointly by the *paṃgukārayō*, each being responsible for that part of the fence adjoining each end of his *issara*, and these common fences were also known as *aniyam vāṭa*. If the *ālapata* was cultivated by the shareholders, the *ālapat vāṭa* were also put up by the joint labour of the shareholders. As a shareholder's family increased, his *issara* would be subdivided; if the inheritors were few it would be divided lengthwise, the division being known as *usaṭabedīma* or *kālbedīma*, otherwise cross-wise (*kandakapābedīma*).

The original division of a field into "shares" was never lost sight of, and even if two contiguous holdings came into the possession of one man, he spoke not of having one large share, but of two, and gave two shares' work towards watching (*murapēruva*), fencing, and repairing the tank. So also with fractional holdings. If it was found that the supply of water in the tank was insufficient to irrigate the whole field, the shareholders resorted to the practice known as *betma* or division. A portion of the field was selected, and the rest abandoned. The selected portion was then divided into the same number of equal strips as the original field, and each shareholder received one *betma paṃguva* in lieu of his original share. *Paṃgukārayō* whose holdings were selected for *betma* received no larger share than others. Brodie found that the portion selected for *betma* was frequently worked "in common" and the produce divided among the *paṃgukārayō* according to the number of shares they

25. Ievers (1899) says that an *issara* was equivalent to a *paṃguva*. This usage is ambiguous. Rhys-Davids (1871) uses the term *issara* in the unambiguous sense of a strip rather than a share.



held in their own right. But at other times the selected portion was actually subdivided.<sup>26</sup>

When the water level of the tank was found to be very low, the marshy portions of the tank-bed (*tāvalu*) were fenced and paddy (*hināti*) sown and watered with water from the pit of the tank. At the beginning of each season the shareholders foregathered to decide whether the whole or part of the field, or the tank-bed was to be cultivated.<sup>27</sup> When the tanks dried up, there was fish in abundance which the villagers dried "like red Herrings over a fire."<sup>28</sup> The right of fishing in the tank was a vested interest of the shareholders.

26. Brodie (1856). Ievers (1899) found that common cultivation was very unusual in 1892, and it is never practised today.

27. SSS.

28. Knox (1681), 253.

### III

#### THE TANKS

THE Nuvarakalāviya District could only have supported a sparse migratory population had it not been for the artificial reservoirs which stored up rain water during the monsoons, for there was hardly any rain between May and October, and the countryside literally dried up. An extensive network of "tanks" had made permanent settlement possible in the North-central Dry Zone,<sup>29</sup> and it was in this region that the ancient kingdoms centred. According to the chroniclers, Parākrama Bāhu I (reg. A.D. 1153-1186), a monarch who, despite his high-soaring plans, was not given to empty boasting, spake thus to his henchmen :

'In the realm that is subject to me there are, apart from many strips of country where the harvest flourishes mainly by rain water, but few fields which are dependent on rivers with permanent flow or on great reservoirs. Also by many mountains, by thick jungle, and by widespread swamps my kingdom is much straitened. Truly in such a country not even a little water that comes from the rain must flow into the ocean without being made useful to man. Except at the mines where there are precious stones, gold and the like, in all other places the laying out of fields must be taken in hand.'<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, the storage of water was the pivot on which the village economy revolved, so much so that in this region "tank" (*vāva*) was practically synonymous with *gama* or village, and in place-names the word *gama* rarely occurred. The people belonged to Siambalagahavāva, "the tamarind-tree-tank," rather than to Siyambalagahagama, "the tamarind-tree-village."<sup>31</sup>

"As a rule, the pools seem to be by origin merely accumulations of water in such natural depressions of the ground as have no outlet sufficiently low to drain them . . . But their depth and size have been artificially increased by the expedient of an earthen bund or embankment, thrown across the lower side of this depression."<sup>32</sup> In the largest of these tanks immense volumes of water could be

29. "If one imagines the centre of a clock to be at Mātālē, in the middle of the island, then, roughly speaking, the Dry Zone is everything below about 1,000 feet swept out by a hand moving from nine o'clock around to six o'clock—in other words, the whole of the northern and eastern part of the island with the exception of the hillier areas. Thus defined, it comprises about two-thirds of Ceylon's land area." (Farmer. 1952).

30. *Olw.*, 68. 8-13. This passage indicates that the region was already being threatened by the jungle tide.

31. Dickson (1873) cp. Siyambalagahagedara, common in the *uḍa raṭa*.

32. Phear (1880), 173.



stored up the rains for use in the dry months. At first simple reservoirs with very low embankments were probably constructed, the area of these early tanks varying from two or three acres, to a hundred or more, their size depending on the requirements of the village, and the formation of the ground. When a better knowledge of the art of raising earthen bunds capable of holding back greater volumes of water was acquired, more ambitious schemes were undertaken.

The Kalāvāva tank, constructed about A.D. 460, "exemplifies in high degree the fine conceptions and knowledge of the old engineers."<sup>33</sup> It consisted of an earthen embankment almost five miles in length and sixty feet high, thrown across the valley of the Kalā-oya, just below the confluence of the Dambulla and Hanvālla rivers. The spillway was a deep masonry wall about 30 feet high and 160 thick, the interior being filled with uncut stone and rubble. The top of the wall and the overfall face were finished off with carefully dressed and shaped stones, while the upstream edge was built of brick-work laid in lime and mortar. From the Eastern sluice or *horovva* large canal (*yōdha-āla*) ran for a distance of 54 miles to the city of Anurādhapura, irrigating land *en route*, filling Tisāvēva tank, and continuing to supply village tanks six miles beyond.

The circumference of the larger tanks such as the celebrated Parākrama Samudra, the Sea of Parākrama, extended to several miles. But besides these vast reservoirs which irrigated a host of villages,<sup>34</sup> there were innumerable minor tanks, independent of a major network, which supplied water for a single village. In the Nuvarakalāviya District alone there were 1,300 tanks in 1873, a large proportion of which were village tanks, each village possessing at least one of these works. The typical village tank consisted of a low bund, 10 to 12 feet high, and not longer than 1,000 or 1,500 yards.<sup>35</sup> Two outstanding constructional features were the *horovva* or sluice, a deep square outlet taken *under* the embankment to conduct water to channels, and the *visōkoṭu*, which have been compared to the modern "valve pits" and "valve towers," by which the outward egress of water is regulated or halted.<sup>36</sup>

33. Balfour (1914). For further constructional details cf. Parker (1909). In recent times a group of villagers would return to the site of an abandoned tank to found a new village. On the method of repairing the bund of a tank cf. Codrington (1938), 64.

34. On the interlinked tanks, *vide* Brohier (1934), I.

35. Dickson (1873). Most of these village tanks were abandoned and in disrepair.

36. Brohier, *op. cit.* p. 3.

## IV

## FOREST AND COMMONS

IN Kandyan times certain forests near the capital were strictly interdicted, and people were not permitted even to gather firewood in them, but in the remoter parts of the kingdom the vigilance of royal officials was necessarily absent, and the villagers did in fact fell timber and clear the jungle for cultivation.<sup>37</sup> The "sphere of influence" of each village settlement in the Nuvarakalāviya district thus extended to a more or less definite extent of *hēn* land surrounding the village, over which the shareholders enjoyed the exclusive rights of cultivation, hunting, pasture, honey, firewood, fence-sticks and jungle rope. In regard to game, "outsiders" acknowledged and respected the various "spheres of influence" by giving the hind leg of any wild animal killed in the jungle to the *gamarāla* of the village to which that land was deemed to belong. Although *hēn* rights were "common" to the village shareholders, any valuable tree a stone's throw from the *vanāta* or clearing alongside a man's *issara* was, by general agreement, considered to be his private property. If the population of a village increased so as to necessitate the building of new dwellings, the villagers were allowed to enclose a piece of adjacent jungle land, but for no purpose other than *bona fide* residence.<sup>38</sup>

*Hēn* land was valued chiefly as potentially cultivable land, and whenever necessary the scrub (which was the vegetation predominant in this area) was cleared, the fallen trees left to dry and then burnt, and the grain loosely scattered on the virgin soil. In the Nuvarakalāviya district, if there was insufficient land in the circumference of jungle deemed to belong to the village, permission was sought to use the land of an adjoining village, in which case the cultivators paid *otu* in money or produce each season.<sup>39</sup> In consequence of the repeated burning of the jungle for cultivation, any large forest in this area degenerated into scrub. For *hēn* cultivation was based on a principle of rotation of soil, a plot being abandoned after one or two crops, and left uncultivated for a period varying

37. D'Oyly (1835), 65, states that in the distant parts of the kingdom the neighbouring inhabitants were at liberty to fell timber in the forests, but not to clear any part for *hēn*. But in 1841 Rambukpota Disāva reported that encroachment on so-called crown land in Ūva was easy when the desire existed, so that it was impossible to distinguish crown forest from "private (*hēn*) property." (CGA. 18/10). In 1884 Ievers records that the whole area around Sigiriya rock was "*hēn* jungle" (Agent's Diary, Kāgalla, CGA. 18/7).

38. cf. Rhys Davids (1871).

39. SSS.



from four to fifteen or twenty years, during which time the forest was allowed to grow again on soil rendered relatively infertile by fire. There naturally arose a peculiar scrub vegetation.<sup>40</sup>

To cultivate a *hēna*, the village shareholders would select a suitable piece of land and, taking a large tree as centre point (*mulkāṭē*),<sup>41</sup> tie a creeper of one or two cubits' length to this tree and trace a small circle around it. The circumference was marked with pegs (*hēn kanu gahanavā*), and divided according to *paṃgu*. The division lines or boundaries (*māyīm*) were then extended to the limits of the proposed *hēna*. After an invocation to the gods the first tree was cut at a "good" time (*subha vēlāvata val allanavā*). After all the trees were felled, time was allowed for them to dry, before being burnt. At an auspicious time each shareholder planted stakes about three or four feet high in a straight line along his boundary, and joined them horizontally with small sticks. The whole *hēna* resembled a wheel with the spokes dividing the *paṃgu*. There was no *gamvasama* as such, but the *gamarāla* would have a share like the others. All the *paṃgukārayō* did not necessarily take part in the venture, but if there were many participating, they would divide, and cultivate two *hēn*. If the *hēna* was small it was arranged in "squares" (*iravilla*)<sup>42</sup>.

*Hēn* crops were sown for the *mahā* season at the close of the dry period when the first signs of rain appeared (*ak vāhi piruvahama*). *Navadili kurahan* was sown when relatively new jungle had been cleared, and began at the full-moon of Vak and was completed before the full-moon of Il. If large jungle was felled, vegetable were sown, and when they sprouted *kurahan* was sown mixed with *aba*, *mum*, *baṭu*, and *miris*. After the seed was sown, a branch of a tree was hung over the stile of the *hēna* as a vow to Puleyar, to protect the crop from wild animals. *Hēn* crops were anciently taxed,<sup>43</sup> but in Kandyan times a bag of *kurahan* was taken to the *Vanni-unnāhē* as first-fruit offerings (*alut batata kiya*), while a small portion was also given to the washerman, potter, smith and to representatives of the "ceremonial castes" (*hēvisi bali tovil korana āyā*). A second crop was sown with *kurahan* and *menēri*, and work began from the full-moon of Binara. The *hēna* was cultivated for the *yala* season (February) in the same manner: clearing began after the full moon of Durutu, and before the full-moon of Mādin. The two crops sown were *tala* and *kurahan* respectively. Sometimes hill-paddy was sown in both seasons.<sup>44</sup>

40. The fact that the high forest (*mūkulāna*) in the environs of Nuvarakalāviya common three centuries ago (cf. Knox. 1681. 251) has now given way to scrub, is surely attributable to the regular practice of *hēn* cultivation.

41. Alt, *muttā* or *gamvasam kanuva*. In the absence of a tree, a post (*kātāva*) was planted.

42. SSS.

43. The Nuvarakalāviya tradition was that Parākrama Bāhu the Great abolished *hēn* taxes.

44. SSS.

## V

## AGRICULTURAL RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS

LAND tenure in the Nuvarakalāviya district has been loosely described as "communal" in character, and this appellation has given rise to needless controversy, for much depends on definition. The land was not enjoyed "in common" by the villagers, without any kind of division into lots, whereas "the idea of common holding necessitates that no one should have any particular lot or share, but that all should cultivate and should take from the store of general produce what each family happens to require, without a thought that A is entitled to  $\frac{1}{2}$ , B to  $\frac{1}{3}$ , C to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{8}$ , and so on."<sup>45</sup> In point of fact, the original division into shares was always kept in mind, and a man's *issara* was his special reserve, his private property, inherited by his heirs.<sup>46</sup> Even during a shortage of water, when as an emergency measure a selected part of the field was cultivated "in common," the crop was apportioned in proportion to the original lots or shares.<sup>47</sup> Communal cultivation was common throughout the island, as it still is, but never affected individual rights in the land so cultivated, which remained private property, nor the division of the produce.<sup>48</sup> Thus the *paṃgukārayō* were responsible for erecting the fences which separated and protected their individual lots.<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, it is indisputable that certain rights were enjoyed "in common" (*podu*)—grazing, game, and honey in *hēn*, and fishing in the tank, being instances of "communal" rights vested in the village shareholders. Complementary to these rights were the duties and services to the village community to which the shareholders were liable, e.g., keeping the tank and its channels in repair. If these "communal" features were more in evidence in the villages of this region than in the *uḍa raṭa*, they were largely the

45. B. H. Baden-Powell, "The Origin of Village Land Tenures in India" (*JRAS*, 1898. 605-615).

46. Dickson (1878) states that one of his first duties on assuming office as Government Agent, was to divide all the arable land of a village among the *paṃgukārayō*.

47. Brodie (1856).

48. Agrarian communism must not be confused with the village commons (cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Origin of Property in Land*. Trans. M. Ashley London, 1890). In Ceylon, "agrarian communism" extended only to communal cultivation, never to communal division of land or produce. Ievers (1899) is obviously mistaken in asserting that there was no such thing as "private property" in the North-Central Province.

49. Ievers (1899).



product of environmental peculiarities, rather than remnants of an antique form of social organization. The region had long been depopulated, and the jungle villagers could bring into cultivation as much land as they desired. But water was not as plentiful as land. Moreover, the greatest problem was to keep the "jungle tide" from encroaching upon their settlements, and the village shareholders cooperated in the task of bringing into cultivation a tract of land reclaimed from the jungle for their subsistence. Thus arose a web of intricate rights and obligations which regulated the pursuit of agriculture.

After the rains the *gamarāla* and shareholders foregathered to discuss plans for the ensuing season, to decide such questions as whether the whole extent of paddy land or part of it could be irrigated by the volume of water in the tank (making allowance for normal rainfall), the date of commencing work, the kinds of paddy, to be sown, and the date of sowing. On the auspicious day chosen to begin work—one on which there was no fatal planetary constellation (*sankranta*)—the *paṃgukārayō* began to clear their respective *ālavēli* or channels. Those channels which were common (*podu*) were cleared either jointly (*ekatuva*), or each taking a portion (*bedāgana*). Then one evening the *gamarāla* went to the tank bund, tied a coin (*panama*) in a cloth to a nearby tree, fired a salute, offered a prayer (*yātikāva*) to the gods, and opening the sluice, let out the water into the field. Each *paṃguva* received one day's water.

On a subsequent "good" day the *gamarāla* led the buffaloes into the field, and began ploughing his allotments, and the other shareholders followed suit in their respective holdings. The ridges (*niyara*) were made, and the common fences (*aniyam vāta*) were put up jointly by the shareholders. On an agreed day the shareholders soaked the seed and while awaiting their germination the second ploughing (*dehiya*) was begun at an auspicious time on an auspicious day. Then a ceremony known as *bittara vadanavā* was performed in which a little paddy was taken, and having made vows to the gods, it is sown in a small *liyādda* specially prepared in the middle of the field. Within three days of this ceremony all should sow their fields, leaving out the *vagala* or path set aside to lead the buffaloes into the fields at the further end, which may be cultivated later.<sup>50</sup>

The *paṃgukārayō* took turns in keeping a constant vigil over their fields, perched in watch-huts (*pāla*), one of which was built at each *ālapata* for the *gamarālas*, and one for every two or three *issarava*. The watch-huts were erected on posts about ten feet from the ground, in order to ensure a view of the plots, and for protection against wild animals. These wild beasts infested the adjacent jungles, and were kept away at night by a fire kept burning contin-

uously. If a *paṃgukārayā* could not take his turn of watching (*mura pēruva*), he informed the one due to watch next, and took his turn later. He who, through carelessness or stubbornness, did not attend, was liable for damages if the crop was destroyed. When the tank-level was low, the outward egress of water had to be watched and regulated, and turns were taken to watch and block the sluice (*vatura bāṇḍima*), under the general supervision of the *gamarāla*.<sup>51</sup>

Reaping was begun on an auspicious day by a "good" man, mindful of the gods. The other shareholders followed suit, reaping either on a cooperative basis (*kayiya*), for hire (*kuli*), or individually. If the holdings of some could not be reaped on account of illness, the others reaped on their behalf. The day and time was fixed for carrying the sheafs into the *kamata* or threshing-floor, which was fenced off in the centre of the field. Here the sheafs of each *bāge* were stacked separately, and each shareholder's harvest also stacked and fenced round. Three days later, *dēvakāriya* was done by cooking new rice (*alut baten kiri itiri*). The threshing operations were accompanied at every stage by an elaborate ritual, e.g., placing various materials in the hold dug in the centre of the *kamata*.

The whole village joined in agricultural rites designed to secure prosperity through the mediation of the gods. Thus the ceremony of boiling milk (*kiri-itirima*) was performed after each crop was reaped and gathered. The *paṃgukārayō* collected the new rice and took it to a spot on the tank-bund close to a lactiferous tree. A shed was built with a *māssa* or platform upon which an offering of a hundred betel leaves and a hundred areca-nuts was placed. Rice was then put into three earthen pots and boiled with cocoanut milk, and offered to the deities, who were invoked to protect health, the tank, the crop, cattle, etc. The rice so offered was divided amongst all present, and eaten. Similarly, there were charms (*kem*) for worm-pest (*doḍankema*), for averting a pest of flies (*mandemātirima*), and an elaborate pot-ceremony to propitiate the god Aiyānā (cf. Appendix).

These cooperative activities should be viewed against the background of a society in which there was no scarcity of cultivable land, and consequently no question of interference with one another's proprietary rights, nor of struggle for individual ownership of land. The villagers eked out an existence from a harsh environment by concerted activity, and each man's rights and obligations being defined by custom, no individual could subsist without fulfilling his obligations, and the indolent could expect neither sympathy nor charity from the industrious. It was a different thing altogether if illness, death, or other circumstance precluded an individual from

50. SSS.

51. SSS.



going to his field : the fact that he was unable to work did not deprive him of his share even if others worked for him. In keeping watch too, a man who was incapacitated was assisted by others, and such communal help in working the fields (*havulē kumburu vāda kirima*) was readily given in the case of a widow or one who was stricken with illness. The term *kayiya* was used when such assistance was actually requested by a shareholder going from end to end of the village, offering betel leaves and informing the recipients of the time and nature of the work to be done. On the appointed day, betel and meals are served to the helpers, who could rely on reciprocal response from the man they assisted when they required his labour.<sup>52</sup>

But apart from such compassionate assistance and reciprocal arrangements, there were penalties awaiting those who shirked their duties. If a man refused to give his share of labour or money for the repair of the tank bund, he forfeited his right to lead water into his land until he repaid those who laboured in his stead. If an *issara* was not cultivated, proprietors of contiguous plots were entitled to cultivate the adjacent land to an extent equal to their own holdings, the object being to lighten the labour of watching and fencing which became harassing when the *issaraval* were isolated. Again, a man was liable to pay compensation if owing to his neglect in fencing or watching, crops were damaged by cattle or wild beasts. Likewise if a man, after being warned that his cattle trespassed, failed to yoke them two and two, or tie a cross-bar to their necks, he was liable for any damage they caused, but if the fence was found to be faulty the fine was lessened.<sup>53</sup>

52. SSS.

53. Brodie (1856), SSS.

## VI

### GOVERNORS AND OFFICIALS

THE Nuvarakalāviya villages have been described as agricultural republics, and they were self-governing in the sense that law and order were maintained by institutions which were relatively independent of state control. The hierarchy of power which impinged upon the economic activities of the *uḍa raṭa* villager, from his immediate overlord or minor officials to the king, was scarcely noticed in Nuvarakalāviya. The only direct revenue which the Kandyan kings received from this region appears to have been the fees for the appointment of the *disāva* who, more often than not, was a man of another province; at one time the chief *adhikārama* was titular head of this northerly province, and the last *disāva* of Nuvarakalāviya was Galagoḍa, chief of Uḍa Hēvāhāta, in the *uḍa raṭa*. The central government was not powerful enough to assert its full authority over the nether provinces which had to be reached through interminable jungle,<sup>54</sup> and taxation often went by default.<sup>55</sup> There were no royal villages in this area, only a few *ket* or royal fields. The imposts of goods passing the *kaḍavat* or toll-gates probably went to the *disāva*.

The effective governors of Nuvarakalāviya were the *vanni unnāhēs* (alt. *vanniyars*, *vanni varu*, *vanni baṇḍāras*) who occupied the frontier country between the Tamil kingdom of Jaffna in the extreme North, and the Sinhalese *uḍa raṭa*, more specifically the district which comprises the present North-Central Province, excluding Tamankaḍuva. We first hear of the *Vanniyars* in the thirteenth century,<sup>56</sup> and since then these local chieftains held sway over the region, often making the king's representative, the *disāva*

54. In 1798 the people of Malaya village in Kalēgam Kōraḷē murdered a messenger of the Vanniyar, and the king ordered the village to be degraded (Ievers. 1899. 49).

55. This was not always so, and SSS mentions that "in the past" a tax known as *sunḡam* was levied on all cultivated lands including temple lands, but excepting *radala* villages. The *maninavā* measured the harvest in the presence of the *vidāna* and a *liyanā* kept a record. The Moormen (*marak-kalayō*) were supposed to convey the government dues to the royal storehouses by means of *tavalam* or pack-bullocks, but much of this probably went to the granaries of the *Vanniyars*, although those who evaded payment were sometimes fined as much as 550 *riḍis*. According to D'Oyly (1832), 49, dues from Seven Kōraḷēs were brought to Kandy in the month of Nikini by the *liyanarāla*.

56. In *Clv*. Fifteenth-century poems also mention the *vanni-rajavaru*.



of Nuvarakalāviya, a mere nominal overlord.<sup>57</sup> D'Oyly states: "The Vanniya of Nuvarakalāviya from ancient time are considered to have the power of granting *sittu* of decision and *divi sittu* and of awarding penalties not inferior to those inflicted by the principal *mohottālas* of the Seven Kōraḷēs. In short, they are held to possess in their respective *pattu*, power nearly equal to that of a *disāva*, but are restrained in the exercise of it when the *disāva* is in the province."<sup>58</sup> The *disāva* had no landed interests in the area, and his visits to his jungle constituency were doubtless infrequent. As was the case with several Kandyan appointments,<sup>59</sup> the office of *disāva* of Nuvarakalāviya was sought not so much for its pecuniary emoluments, but for the title and rank it conferred.<sup>60</sup> The Vanniya, on the other hand, were men of the place, a hereditary nobility representing the landed interests. Some of them traced their ancestry to the chiefs who landed in Jaffna during Mahasen's reign (circa A.D. 277), while the Sūriyavaṃsa Nuvaravāva family claimed descent from ancestors who accompanied the scared *bō*-tree in B. C. 289. Several villages occupied by *duraya* people of the *pannaya* caste also claimed descent from attendants who came with the *bō*-tree: they called themselves *villi-durayi* (*villi*=bow), since they protected the scared tree from monkeys with the aid of stone-bows.<sup>61</sup>

The Vanniya aristocracy were, to all intents and purposes, hereditary governors of Nuvarakalāviya, and to a lesser extent of Seven Kōraḷēs.<sup>62</sup> They adjudicated in caste disputes (*kula vitti*), and appropriated part of the fees and fines paid by litigants and offenders. But their power was limited, and there was a form of dual control,

57. Nuvarakalāviya does not figure among the districts represented at the Kandy *perahāra* in the *Disāva* of Vellassa's account of 1818—an indication of its independence. In that year the offices of *disāva* of Nuvarakalāviya and Tamankaḍuva were abolished, the business of government being conducted by the Vanniya and their headmen under the orders of the Government Agent, Anurādhapura (Procs., BC. 5 and 7-10-1818. CGA. 21/111).

58. D'Oyly (1835), 27.

59. For instance, the *basnāyaka*-nilameship of Alavatugoḍa *dēvāle*. (Lawrie. 1896).

60. The *disāva* was entitled to ride in a palanquin in his district, and had a distinctive flag, besides other paraphernalia of office. The lesser officials also had their emblems of office, e.g., the *lēkam*'s cane.

61. Ievers (1899).

62. In Seven Kōraḷēs, the authority of the *vanniya* was ill-defined, particularly in the Demala Hatpattu district. If the *vanniya* went to Kandy or the *disāva* came on circuit they gave him a large *bulatsurulla*, and evaded the regular payment of *dākum*. But in Rājādhirājasimha's reign failure to pay *dākum* led to the imprisonment of the chief *vanniya* in Kandy for periods totalling twelve years. One of the two principal *vanniya* of Demala Hatpattu in the early nineteenth century was of Mukkuva descent, and the other was a Moorman, but both were Roman Catholics. They enjoyed *nindagam* inhabited by Sinhalese *raṭṭē āttō* who paid them respect by giving them a couch to sit on, and served them with rice on plantain leaves (cf. D'Oyly. 1835. 50-51).

for besides the *Vanniya*'s *mohottāla* an officer known as *disāva mohottāla*<sup>63</sup> was appointed by the *disāva* to represent his interests in the province. The Vanniya disdained to intermarry even with the class of high-caste headmen subordinate to them, the *kāriya-karannō*, who filled the offices of *badderāla* whose duty it was to collect taxes and fines, the *lēkam* or secretary, the *liyanarāla* or scribe, and the *uṇḍirāla*, nor did these two classes have any social intercourse. These subordinate officials were appointed by the *vanniya* in consideration of various "presents," and they were entitled to a part of the fines and fees collected from the villagers. The tradition of royal legitimation of *Vanniya* authority was universal and unquestioned. Buhvenaika Bāhu V is said to have enjoyed these *Vanniya* to preserve their nobility, thus:

'O Royal Princes! You must not mix with other castes or families. Do not intermarry with other castes. Do not go barebodied. Do not let them approach you. Do not allow them canopies, carpets, beds, chairs, or appointments to high offices. Do not allow them to wear jackets, hats, sandals, or use umbrellas. If they do wear and use them, they should be seized and tried, and the heads of those found guilty must be shaved on one side, their ears must be chopped off, they must be made to suffer the thirty-two tortures such as having the hands lopped off, etc., and banished from the country. If one of your class mixed with one of them, he should be tried, and you should neither eat nor drink with him, but have him trounced and relegated to a lower caste. Have no more intercourse with his descendants. Have such under your control. Observe all these injunctions. Hold *sabhās* to try such and punish them according to their crimes. Inquire into questions raised by the subjects. Maintain you the laws of the land, the laws of the king, and the laws of morality. Collect the taxes justly and without oppression.'<sup>64</sup>

*Vanniya* rule was not always tolerable, and some inhabitants of their districts fled to the North to escape their oppression, and settled in the Tamil Vanni.<sup>65</sup> The *Vanniya* derived their emoluments mainly from fees and fines collected at sessions of the *raṭṭa sabhās* or district councils, as well as from dues rendered by inhabitants of their *nindagam* or personal estates. In these villages there were no *gamvasam*, but certain low caste people held hereditary allotments known as *ulasu* for various services. These holders had no rights in relation to *betma*, nor fishing rights in the tank, but they were obliged to clear the tank bund.<sup>66</sup>

63. Known in the district as *raṭṭa karannā*, *raṭṭe mahatmayā*, or (since the office was held on a temporary basis) *sāramāru mohottāla*.

64. This is the account given by R. K. Tillakaratna Mohottī of Kahaṭa-gasdigiliya, and confirmed by other writers in *SSS*. It is indicative of the universal acknowledgment of the authority of the *Vanniya* in this province and the mental climate of the villagers, rather than being a statement of historical fact. For the dates mentioned are obviously incorrect. The admonition is attributed to Buhvenaika Bāhu V, ruling from Kōṭṭe in Saka 1558. In point of fact, this king ruled from Gampōla in A.D. 1372/3—1405/6 or 1407/8.

65. Ievers (1899).

66. *SSS*.



## VII

## KULA AND VARIGA

CASTE distinctions were scrupulously observed in the Nuvara-kalāviya district, the customs and habits peculiar to a caste (*kula sirit*) being jealously guarded. Besides being a member of a caste (*kula*), a person also belonged to a *variga*<sup>67</sup>—a small primary group whose members were known as *varigakkārayō*. The *variga* was an endogamous group whose members refrained from associating with people of alien *varigas* (*piṭa variga*), particularly in marriage (*magul*) and funeral (*ilav*) ceremonies. Strict adherence to the rule of endogamy served to strengthen the solidarity of the *variga*. Indeed, cross-cousin marriage was the rule, and a person who desired to marry any other than his cross-cousin had to get permission from the group, a fine being payable if this departure from the normal marriage was allowed. It is even said that a man could even contract an incestuous marriage, by obtaining the sanction of the *variga* and paying a fine, rather than marry into an alien *variga*.<sup>68</sup>

Membership of the *variga* may be based on territorial location, in which case the *variga* took the name of the village (e.g., *siyaṃbālāgahavāva variga*), or on kinship (*nāddā variga*). The existence of a *maha variga* or main clan, and several minor ones (*sulu variga*), indicate that a *variga* could be formed by a process of fission of a large group. Thus a group of persons migrating from an old village inhabited by a *maha variga* in order to found a new settlement, took the name of the new village (e.g., *Alutgomuvē variga*). So also in the case of an offence committed by an individual, his "blood-relations," *lē-nāyo*, (i.e., a man, his wife and children, his father and mother, brothers and sisters, and their children) shared responsibility for his act, and if he was banished from a *maha variga*, he and his "blood-relations" would constitute a new *sulu variga*. The term *nāddā-variga* or kinship-clan seems to emphasise the fact of kinship between people not necessarily resident in one place. The

67. It would be misleading to translate *variga* as "clan" in the anthropological sense, since it is endogamous and includes affines. The whole subject of *variga* is little understood. *Variga* derives from *varga*. It differs from the low-country *gē*. Division into *varigas* is unknown in the *uḍa raṭa*, but the *Vāddās* are divided into *varugas* (C.G. and B.Z. Seligman, 1911.)

68. SSS.

history of a *variga*, its genealogies, and different families, was often discussed at *raṭa sabhās*.<sup>69</sup>

The integrity of the *variga* was maintained against disgraceful acts committed by its members, by means of the institution of the "boycott" or ban (*tahanama*), which denied to a person the privileges he was entitled to in his dealings with the other *varigakkārayō*, his kinsmen sharing the disgrace unless they absolved themselves by paying a fine, collectively or individually, to the *raṭa sabhā*. The ban could be of two kinds. In the temporary ban the relations were debarred from associating with *varigakkārayō* in funeral and wedding ceremonies (*ilav magul tahanam karanavā*). By this interdict the *varigakkārayō* were not precluded from visiting the offender's house, talking to him and rendering him assistance, but they could not eat with him, or let him eat in their plates. Furthermore, the washerman was prohibited from washing for the offender until the prohibition was removed (*tahanam arinavā*), and the offender readmitted into the *variga* (*varigeṭa gannavā*, or *varigeṭa ātul karanavā*) after a *raṭa sabhā* had inquired into the charge and dealt with the offender according to custom. A person violating the ban and associating with the offender was guilty of an offence triable at the *raṭa sabhā*. On the other hand, a person could be permanently cast out of the *variga* without hope of reunion, on account of a serious offence, the act symbolic of his expulsion being the chopping of a tree and a rock with an axe or other instrument (*gahē galē koṭalā ahak karanavā*).<sup>70</sup>

69. The expression *variga paramparāve*, implying a generation belonging to a *variga* by descent, appears in *sannas*. The expression *variga pāl pēli* probably refers to the descent of members of the *variga*.

70. Sources : Kapuruhami (1910) ; SSS.



## VIII

RAṬA SABHĀS<sup>71</sup>

IN the Nuvarakalāviya district, the *gamarāḷa* attended to all matters pertaining to agriculture in his village. His position as headman was associated with possession of the hereditary *gamvasama*. His permission had to be sought to fish in the tank, and he was entitled to a part of the catch (*gamvasam tullu*). All important work in connection with the tank and the field was begun by the *gamarāḷa*, and he acted as master of ceremonies in the performance of religious rituals. But although he was a respected man wielding considerable influence, he was not, strictly speaking, an official. His administrative duties were merely in his role as a village elder. He would attempt to settle disputes amicably, but he did not demand fees or impose fines. When necessary he intimated to the *vanniya*r, through one of the officials, that a formal tribunal should be held.

Whether there was a recognised *gamsabhāva* in this area is doubtful, but there is evidence that in agricultural disputes the leading men of the village the *kōrāḷa* of the division (*tulāna*), and the leading *gamarāḷa*, would decide the case and were empowered to impose a fine. Serious criminal offences and disputes relating to caste were brought before a tribunal known as a *raṭa sabhā*, an institution peculiar to this region and quite unlike the *gamsabhāva* or village tribunal of the *uḍa raṭa* in that it was regulated by elaborate rules of procedure and etiquette.<sup>72</sup> Kapuruhami enumerates twenty five acts considered to be socially disgraceful which came within the

71. Sources : Kapuruhami (1909) ; SSS.

72. The interest taken by the whole village when a lawsuit concerning any of its members was heard, has puzzled many observers. Aelian King, District Judge Badulla, considered that "the court-house is the arena chosen by popular consent in which the greater part of the superfluous excitement and passion of the native is exercised and worked out" (A.R. 1869, 188), while R. Morris, Government Agent Kurunāgala, attributed the inordinate interest in litigation to the fact that the country did not provide amusements such as the theatre and opera, and a lawsuit was an acceptable substitute. (A.R. 1869, 120). In truth, the ancient *raṭa sabhās* were social gatherings as well as legal assemblies. Thus, before the last course of the meal served during the session of the *sabhā*, one might challenge another to eat more, and rice was served in equal quantities until one could eat no more. The victor ate an extra handful and declared that he (or his village, if outsiders present are concerned) had triumphed over the other. Several may likewise challenge, but the challenge could be declined (Kapuruhami. 1909).

jurisdiction of a *raṭa sabhā*. Besides the practice of charms (*hūniyam*),<sup>73</sup> false and malicious accusations of disgraceful conduct, and actions in contempt of the *raṭa sabhā*, the other offences all relate to illicit social and sexual relations between members of different castes or classes. An assembly specifically convened to hear a caste dispute was also known as a *variḡa sabhā*.

A *raṭa sabhā* was an assembly of the principal citizens and officials (including the *mohottālās*, *liyanarāḷa*, *badderāḷa*, and *uṇḍirāḷa*), and was held at the *maḍuva* of the village, in a temporary building erected specially for the occasion, or at the house of a chief.<sup>74</sup> When a case arose which necessitated a convention of a *raṭa sabhā*, the *gamarāḷa* notified the *mohottāla* that such an assembly should be convened, and the latter referred the matter to the *vanniya*r whose *lēkam* or secretary informed the *gamarāḷas* of the date of the impending visit of the chief for a session of the *raṭa sabhā*. The *gamarāḷa* sent for the people of the craftsmen and artisan (*koṭṭalbadda*) castes who served the village, to prepare the venue of the assembly (*sabhā maṇḍapē*) : the washermen were responsible for hanging white cloth to serve as a ceiling (*uḍuwiyan baṇḍinavā*), and laid *pāvādas* on the floor to walk on ; the carpenter made seats and erected *toranas* or ornamental arches, the potter supplied the cooking pots, the blacksmith the knives. The *gamarāḷas* supplied the rice and were responsible for seeing to the preparation of the meals served at the sessions—another reason for his double share of the village field.

The *vanni baṇḍāra* arrived in a palanquin with his retinue, which included dancers and whip-crackers. His emblems of authority (canes, swords, daggers &c.) were placed on a ceremonial chair which was covered with a white cloth. The officials then offered the *vanniya*r presents and bundles of betel leaves. When the assembly was seated and silenced, a *mohottāla* or *badderāḷa* rose and with the approval of the *vanniya*r, proclaimed :

We hold this *sabhā* in the presence of the four great gods of the four quarters of the world who govern this earth, and other titular deities of the village. These greater and lesser gods will bear witness to the fact that we decide true to the facts, and will submit our decisions to the assembly of the gods. We too will report our decisions to the king's council.<sup>75</sup>

73. Ievers in his official *Diary* (CGA. 30/6, 1884) records that petitions from relatives of persons alleged to have become insane from *hūniyam* charms, were common. *Hūniyam* are small clay image into which pins are thrust, "and the belief in their noxious powers is as real as the practice is ancient."

74. It would appear that the principal citizens of neighbouring villages belonging to the same administrative division (*tulāna*) were sometimes invited to attend.

75. This is the version given by R. K. Tillakaratna in SSS, but it is doubtful if the decisions were in fact reported to the king's council in Kandyan times.



Due warning is now given against uttering falsehoods, taking sides on account of grudges, and refusing to submit to punishments awarded to the guilty. Much attention is paid to etiquette and decorum, which are minutely regulated: starting quarrels, talking unnecessarily, leaving the hall without prior permission, being expressly prohibited. Misdemeanours committed while the *sabhā* was in session were punished. They were classified as oral offences (*kaṭa varadi*), e.g., interrupting a speaker, using insulting language, which were punished with a fine of seven and a half pieces of silver; *bat varadi* or wrongs connected with the preparation and service of meals, punishable by a fine of two and a half *ridi*s; and *at varadi* or wrongs committed with the hands, e.g., improper gestures, neglect to fold one's arms when addressing a superior which entailed a fine of seven and a half *ridi*.<sup>76</sup>

The complainant opened the case by rising from his seat, his hands joined before him, and having saluted the *vanniya*r and officials in order of their rank (*ādaraya karaṇavā*), made his charge. The defence and witnesses were then heard. Oaths were made at a nearby temple if necessary. The *mohottāla*s decided the case and awarded penalties, but before their decisions were confirmed by the *vanniya*r, a relative of the convicted person begs for mercy, and the punishment was usually somewhat reduced. It is a noteworthy fact that the low-caste washerman was asked whether he was satisfied with the decision of the assembly, to which he must reply in the affirmative. The convicted person's headgear was removed (*ispili galavanavā*) until he received his punishment, the act of baring his head symbolizing his degradation to the *roḍiya* caste. Corporal punishment was administered by the *mohottāla*. If a fine was levied and paid, it was checked by the *badderaḷa* or *lēkam* who divided it into four parts: one part (*baṇḍāra muḍippuwa*) went to the *vanniya*r, another was divided among the *mohottāla*s, a third went to the other officers, and the fourth was shared between the official representatives of the village present in the *sabhā*, usually the *gamarāḷa*s, and the *vidāna hēnayā*, chief of the washermen. Should a man be unable to pay the fine, he would beg for a date for settlement. If the fine was not paid on that date, a *badderaḷa* seized the defaulter's property, including even his black pots and other moveables which were handed over to the *vanniya*r, and all that remained of his house were the mud walls and door frames.

In the case of a man subject to a ban by his *variga*, after the infliction of the fine or other penalty, he and his blood-relations were permitted to prepare meals for the assembly. When caste offences

76. Nowadays the *ridi* is reckoned as twenty-five cents, i. e., the smallest silver coin. In a *variga-sabhā* held in December 1954, an "outsider" was admitted into a *variga* by paying a fee of Rs. 37/50, i. e., 150 *ridi*.

were heard and the fine imposed, the offender covered a betel-stand or tray with a white cloth, placed forty betel leaves and a sum of money (usually five *ridi*) upon it, saluted the *mohottāla* and handed him this prohibition-tray (*tahanam-vattiya*).<sup>77</sup> The *mohottāla* then made a speech releasing the offender from the ban (*tahanam arina vākkiya*), and cautioning the assembly of the consequences of mentioning the subject of the offence in future:

The charge brought against this person by such an official having been decided by us and a suitable punishment having been awarded, and the fine ordered by us in lieu of the punishment having been paid by him in full, it must be understood that all of us who share that fine do also share the offence. Further, we have associated with him, as we partook of the meal prepared by him, seated with him. Just as we share the fine imposed upon him for the offence committed, so do we share in the stigma. Therefore anyone who brings up this question of the stigma would besmear the whole community. The punishment accorded to such men, according to the Sinhalese law, is that the tongue should be pulled out. But this is not possible in these times, so he will be find 550 silver pieces and until the fine be paid no one may eat or drink with him.<sup>78</sup> And by the authority of the five kings, Mahasammata, etc., of the gods of the four quarters and other gods, of Sinhalese kings and their crowns and thrones, of the *vanni* *baṇḍāra* of this district and of their letters of authority, hats, cornered hats, canes, etc., we hereby enjoin that no one should mention our decision when quarrelling, or in jest, at any time whatsoever.<sup>79</sup>

The offender now put on the headgear which had previously been removed. In token of the proceedings being brought to a close, the *badderaḷa* put down the prohibition-tray. In case the *vanniya*r could not preside, he would send the *mohottāla*, who reported the decision of the assembly to him and handed him his share of the fine (*baṇḍāra muḍippuwa*).

77. Alternatively, the betel-leaves may be distributed among members of the *variga* and acceptance of a betel-leaf signified forgiveness.

78. Reference is made to the thirty-two tortures of ancient times, some of which were grim indeed and surpassed the eighteen tortures of Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, e.g., rolling inside barrels lined with spikes, pulling out fingernails, pricking with red-hot irons, tying with rattle-snakes round the body, drowning, trampling to death by elephants, and impaling. The punishment was often made to fit the crime, e.g., pulling out the tongue for lying and oral offences, cutting off the limbs for theft, burning the tongue or pouring boiling liquid into the mouth for drunkenness. But the standard fine of 550 *ridi* was evidently favoured by the chiefs in later times, since it was lucrative, besides being humane. Besides, the 550 *ridi* paid by the offender, his blood-relations placed under the ban might be required to pay seven and a half *ridi* each.

79. SSS.



## IX

## DEPOPULATION AND DECLINE OF THE DRY ZONE

THE North-central Dry Zone was for centuries the centre of Sinhalese civilization, the country being governed from the ancient capitals of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva. The former figures in Ptolemy's map of the first century after Christ, as "Anurogrammon," the termination *grammon* (skt. *grāma*, Pāli *gāma*) or village, instead of *pura* or city, being significant, since it had already been a royal capital for some five centuries.<sup>80</sup> The reign of Parākrama Bāhu the Great (reg. A.D. 1153-1186) often regarded as marking the zenith of Sinhalese civilization, was nevertheless one of decline. Currency had been devalued, the gold *massa* having disappeared completely from circulation and replaced by copper coin. The Tamil invasions from South India which faced successive monarchs during the past millennium, troubled Parākrama, and although he contrived to stem the tide of conquest, the invaders were pressing hard. After Parākrama the Sinhalese were gradually forced to withdraw south-wards, and under Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV who came to the throne in A.D. 1344-5, the capital moved to Gampola in the Wet Zone. In the fifteenth century the best part of the Littoral was in Portuguese hands, and the capital finally moved to the mountain fastnesses of *kanda uḍa*, "the last resort of the weak."<sup>81</sup>

Symptoms of decline had begun to manifest themselves in the tenth century when, "as usual, archaizing tendencies appear with the beginning of the decline."<sup>82</sup> Architectural styles which had gone out of fashion in the fourth century were revived. The *stūpa*, a solid dome-like structure, reached colossal dimensions and by the fourth century had become the chief Buddhist shrine. It subsequently dwindled in size, and became a diminutive appendage to a temple. But it was revived in the twelfth century—"a last flicker before extinction," for the colossal tope was not attempted since then. That megalomania is a symptom of approaching decadence is even better illustrated in the history of the tanks.

80. cf. Codrington (1939), 4. There is inscriptional evidence that the title *gāmaṇi* (=village headman) was used by early kings up to Gaja Bāhu (c. A.D. 113) and suggests that kingship arose out of the village system. The king was *primus inter pares* among village headmen, a superior *gāmaṇi*. The term for the usual office of village headman as distinguished from the *gāmaṇi*, was *gamika* or *gamaka* (in Kandyan times, *gammahe* or *gamarāla*) cf. Perera (1949), I. 43-45; Nicholas (1950).

81. Hocart (1934).

82. For a brilliant discussion of the various indices of decline cf. Hocart (1934).

The steady increase in the number and size of the tanks in the Dry Zone bear witness to the increasing acreage of land under paddy cultivation. But a period of chaos, during which the irrigation works were neglected, led to the depopulation of the area. An attempt was made to stem the ebb in the twelfth century, and new tanks were constructed in the grand manner. But the splendour which marked the Indian Summer of the reign of Parākrama Bāhu the Great (reg. A.D. 1153-1186) was hollow : resources did not keep pace with aspirations. The most ambitious temples of the period were built of bricks pilfered from earlier works, and the work was shoddy. "The largest tope is mistaken for a hill by the unobservant visitor, whereas tope twelve hundred years earlier still retain their facing."<sup>83</sup> The tanks, like the temples, could not stand the test of time.

It is a remarkable fact that the period of the greatest and most enduring architectural and engineering feats of the Sinhalese, coincided with the supremacy of Mahāyāna Buddhism, whose activist or extrovert spirit is evidenced in its partiality for ceremonial and ritual. The period of decadence in worldly undertakings was one of intellectual and spiritual emancipation : the eleventh century saw the *saṃgha* purged of Mahāyāna heresy, and the ascetic or introvert variety of Buddhism known as Hinayāna became predominant for the first time since the fourth century.<sup>84</sup>

The trek to the Wet Zone, where elaborate irrigation works could be dispensed with,<sup>85</sup> was such, that in later Kandyan times the Nuvarakalāviya district became a deserted region, the remaining inhabitants left to their own resources by an enfeebled government.<sup>86</sup> If the population of a village did multiply to such an extent as to make the formation of a new settlement imperative, it was customary for a group of villagers to venture forth into the jungle and found a new village. The villagers became aware of the need for such a new settlement when the irrigating capacity of a tank was

83. For all this Hocart (1934) *passim*.

84. cf. Paranavitana (1928). For an attempt to apply the extrovert-introvert typology to societies, cf. C. G. Seligman, "Anthropology and Psychology" (*J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1924.)

85. *Rājāvaliya* attributes the decline of the Great Dynasty to the decreased fertility of the soil.

86. Leonard Woolf in *Village in the Jungle*, (London, 1913) has subtly allegorized the plight of the jungle villager. "The years had brought more evil, death and decay upon the village. . . Disease and hunger visited it year after year. It seemed, as the headman said, to have been forgotten by gods and men. . . Jungle covered it and cut the village off. . . They struggled hard against the fate that hung over them, clinging to the place where they had been born and lived. . . their women were as sterile as the earth ; the children that had been born to them died of want and fever. At last they yielded to the jungle. They packed up their few possessions and left the village for ever." Woolf's "village in the jungle" was in the Hambantota district.



insufficient to bring into cultivation further land,<sup>87</sup> particularly if a partially ruined tank in use held sufficient water only for one crop. The argument for resettlement would be even more cogent if resort had frequently to be made to the practice of *betma*, on account of recurring periods of drought. Codrington has recorded details of the mode of founding a new village (*gam bāndima*) from notes on ancient custom collected at Vavūniya in the years 1909-10. These practices could very probably have prevailed in Kandyan Times, and may even be traced back to the decades following the final removal of the capital of the kingdom to the Wet Zone in the mid-fourteenth century, leaving a sparse population in the Nuvarakalāviya district, to be still further decimated by periodic famines and epidemics.<sup>88</sup>

The villagers who proposed to found a new village went to the selected site and slept on the bund of one of the innumerable abandoned tanks, in order to find out whether there were devils or dreams (*hīna*, *svapna*). The best omens were considered to be the appearance of tusker, a white horse, or a man riding, while the scheme was abandoned if a devil appeared. They then reported to the village, and the names of applicants and the extents of paddy lands to be allocated to each were written on a *tal-kola*. Two *gamarālas* were elected, one for the *ihala bāge* and one for the *pahala bāge*—they were probably the eldest and most respected of the prospective settlers, and their descendants enjoyed the title and privileges of *gamarāla* in the new village.

Men were sent to various parts of the jungle and bund to cry “hoo,” and the field was divided among the shareholders. The gods and Buddha were then invoked thus: “If there is to be defeat from this undertaking, by the invocation (*āhvāna*) of the four guardian deities and of the Three Gems, let them make manifest (an omen of) hindrance.” Then one rises with a *kūtta* and cries “hā—pura,” and cuts a tree once, a proceeding known as *nākata-ṭa val allanavā*, taking possession of the jungle at the auspicious moment. The shares were then measured and apportioned, the jungle felled, and paddy sown. After this first sowing, temporary huts of branches are built close to one another, for fear of wild beasts. The women came with dogs and fowls which kept watch, gave alarms, and frightened away wild animals. The land was then divided into gardens according to the *paṃgu* and proper

87. For an attempt to compute the irrigating capacity of a tank, cf. Park (1908).

88. The innumerable derelict tanks in the Dry Zone give the impression of a teeming population in a land of plenty. In point of fact, not all the tanks were working at the same time. *Mhv.* repeatedly refers to famines, indicating that the country was far from being the granary of the East which it is often reputed to have been (cf. Codrington. 1939. 30-31).

houses built. The houses were grouped close to the tank bund, and this *gam goḍa* was surrounded by a ring fence.<sup>89</sup>

In course of time the life of the Nuvarakalāviya villager was little more than a grim struggle against disease, famine, drought, flood, and wild beasts, and the alarming rate at which the Dry Zone was being depopulated was noted by Baron Mylius as recently as 1838:

‘What led me first to form the opinion that the population was decreasing was my attention being called to the vast number of postponements of the cases in court, all on account of illness. I observed that a good number of individuals appeared with deformities, blemishes, &c., and enquiring into the cause found that they all originated in diseases, one of which appears peculiar to Nuvarakalāviya which I do not quite understand, but it is called contagious and makes its appearance internally by pains, and then eruptions. They call it *parangi* or *paranchi*. This term I understand was synonymous with our venereal but this disease is certainly not it if as they say it is so contagious as to be caught by merely sitting on the same mat or bench with one affected. This I do not believe, but think to render it contagious there must be contact upon the whole. I think it may originate in a disease not dissimilar to venereal, that it is hereditary, that it may be contracted by poverty, bad food and clothing, exposure, &c. It sometimes deprives individuals of their nose, pallet, leaves large (seldom curable) ulcers on the body, whiteness of skin resembling leprosy, and the like. It is said only to attack the human species once in a life, children are purposely made to catch it when the cure is not difficult or dangerous, but it is seldom eradicated in adults... It is one of the causes of my belief in the decrease of the population. Secondly, in enquiring into the children of the higher classes who may be supposed not under the influence of bad food or clothing or exposure, &c., I find that out of all the *mudiyaṃsē* people individually there is but one man who has a son eighteen years of age and none of maturer years, that all the young healthy looking men of thirty or thereabouts who have been married for ten or twelve years, not one of them have more than one child. Now I do not think this can go hand in hand with a progressively increasing population.’<sup>90</sup>

Many of the tanks had been abandoned, and even when the villagers did combine to repair the breached bund of a derelict tank, the absence of suitable spills frequently led to the overtopping and consequent breach of the bund, until at length the villagers were forced to relinquish the uneven struggle against nature. In many cases, the pastoral rice-growing village folk turned into nomadic bands eking out a miserable existence by *hēn* cultivation.<sup>91</sup> They preferred *hēn* to paddy cultivation because crops like *kurakkan* required less water and were less liable to fail during a drought, besides the fact that their yield was greater. “They enjoy the destruction of the jungle, the fine blaze after it, and the wild life that follows.”<sup>92</sup>

89. Codrington (1938), Appendix 1.

90. Mylius, Report of 14-11-1838 (Brodie Mss.). On *parangi*, cf. Boake (1871); The disease is akin to yaws, and is nowadays cured by one injection of penicillin.

91. Weir (1933).

92. Rhys Davids (1878).



## APPENDIX

### IEVERS ON MUTTI MAMGALAYA, OR THE POT CEREMONY TO GOD AIYANĀ\*

THE god Aiyānā (අයියනා) presides over tanks which are supposed to be under his special protection. When a tank fills and is about to spill the elders of the village, chiefly *gamarālas*, proceed to the tank, and at the *mutti-namana* tree (මුට්ටිනමන ගහ) a salute is 'offered' to the god by the firing of two guns. The chief *gamarāla* then steps forward and sends up a *yātikā*, or an address, in which he announces to the god that the tank is being filled, and that cultivation will be begun, and that after the harvest is gathered the *mul-mamgalē* will be performed. At the same time a few copper coins—one or two *panams* in value—are wrapped up in a piece of rag daubed in saffron. The piece of rag with coppers is then tied to a branch of the tree, closing the ceremony by commending the tank, village, its residents, and its cattle to the protection of the deity. This last ceremony is called *paṇḍuru-bāṇḍinavā* (පඤුරු බඳිනවා).

The harvest is gathered. The villagers assemble and appoint a day for the performance of the *mutti* ceremony. The nearest *anumātirāla* (the mouth-piece or (?) oracle of a god, is invited; the tom-tom beaters and the dhobies are noticed. The appointed day arrives, and the chief *gamarāla* directs that every shareholder of the village should contribute towards the *mutti* feast. Rice, cocoanut oil, cakes and sweet plantains, and betel and areca-nut are collected. At evening the assembled people are served with rice and curry, milk rice, cakes, and plantains. The meal being over, the *anumātirāla*, accompanied by the whole village, proceeds in procession with two new earthen pots to where the tree stands on the bund. A raised platform, overhung with cloth and built under the shade of the tree at an early hour of the evening, receives the betel offering. The pots, incensed and daubed with saffron, are now placed on the platform, or *yahana*. The *anumātirāla* sends up a *yātikāva* or an address, to the god, and then begins to dance. Dancing and tom-toming continue till dawn. At break of day the pots are carried up to the tree and laid on the stumps of two branches.

The god, through his *anumātirāla*, makes known that the offerings are accepted, and that the tank, the village with its inhabitants, both man and beast, are taken under his protection for a certain period—one, two, or three years, according to the pleasure of his divine majesty. The people return to the village, and the *anumātirāla* with them. The latter dances, and the tom-toms beat until the mid-day meal is ready. At noon this is eaten and the people disperse.

A somewhat similar ceremony is performed in the case of an epidemic among men or beasts.

The deity 'Ayanār' is said to be Tamil, and his proper name is 'Kai-yanār,' so called because he sprang from the head of Vishnu.

## A NOTE ON SOURCES

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

### REGNAL YEARS OF KANDYAN KINGS

### ABBREVIATIONS



## A NOTE ON SOURCES

SOON after the British annexation of the Kandyan Provinces in 1815, a Convention was held at the deposed King's Palace between the British Governor on the one part, and the principal Kandyan Chiefs on the other, and it was agreed and established, among other things, "to all classes of the people the safety of their persons and property, with their civil rights and immunities according to the laws, institutions, and customs established and in force amongst them."<sup>1</sup> Since no indigenous exposition of the laws, customs, and institutions of the country existed, the British authorities were constrained to collect and record them for administrative purposes. The records of the Board of Commissioners for the Kandyan Provinces contain a wealth of data on Kandyan social organization. The members of the original Board were (Sir) John D'Oyly, Resident and First Commissioner, James Gay, Judicial Commissioner, and Simon Sawers, Revenue Commissioner. The Board asked the several Kandyan chiefs for "documents of information" on various subjects such as the *disāva's* emoluments, the honours and privileges of the Chiefs and the extent of their authority, lists of villages, the services to which the various classes were liable, the dress worn by different castes and ranks, and so on. (CGA. Series 11, 18, 21 ; "A" and "B" Series, etc.).

The Board also constituted a judicial tribunal (in later cases the Judicial Commissioner alone presided), and in its deliberations it was assisted by a panel of chiefs, designated Assessors, who were versed in the customs of the country. Apart from data on legal principles contained in the records of the judicial proceedings (CGA. series 23)<sup>2</sup>, the evidence deposed in these cases contains valuable information on various aspects of social organization, e.g. marriage and kinship, on account of the interminable digressions to which witnesses were prone, with little regard for relevance. In the collection of the principles governing unwritten customary law, difficulties were encountered :

"There being no written law, the Assessors sometimes give contradictory opinions upon what they state to be the custom of the country. Some of these customs however are so certain and indubitable as to be generally acknowledged and acted upon as the law of the land and therefore are not liable to perversion, but others admitting of doubts and various constructions give rise to conflicting opinions by different Assessors, who then form their opinion of each particular case according to their respective views of its merits, being influenced sometimes by impure or partial motives."<sup>3</sup>

1. Clause 4 of the Proclamation of March 2nd., 1815. The Portuguese, as Ribeiro says, "preserved to these people (the Sinhalese of the Littoral) the laws and customs of their ancestors," and the Dutch did the same. But many of these traditional laws and customs were obliterated in the low-country.



For the guidance of the early administrators, Sir John D'Oyly, the able resident who was versed in the Sinhalese language, began a treatise on the Constitution of the Kandyan kingdom which unfortunately he did not live to complete. D'Oyly's acquaintance with Kandyan affairs began with the system of espionage he organized in the Kandyan kingdom five years before the British occupation, and his *Diary* throws much light on military matters. The data for D'Oyly's *Constitution* was derived partly from cases, partly from personal observation, and partly from information collected from the Chiefs. There is no doubt that an authoritative document on Kandyan laws and customs was known both to the chiefs and the Commissioners, for in *Ganhalle Maduva Arachchilla vs. Wereke Megasuri Mudianselagedere Arachchilla*<sup>4</sup> the *udagabādā nilame* observed that he did not concur in the opinion given by the Assessors who sat on the case on the point of Kandyan Law, and referred to the information collected by the Resident (D'Oyly) in regard to the Kandyan Law of inheritance as proof.

The date of this collection by D'Oyly<sup>5</sup> is unknown, but contrary to Hayley<sup>6</sup> such an official compilation was obviously in existence when the *udagabādā nilamē* referred to it in August 1822. The *nilamē*'s citation also provides a clue regarding the origin of that enigmatic Sinhalese work *Nīti-nighanḍuwa*.<sup>7</sup> Although the latter was not known to D'Oyly and Sawers in its present form, they were certainly acquainted with an earlier work on which it was probably based, and from which Armour derived material for his *Notes on Kandyan Law*, published in *The Ceylon Miscellany* in 1842. Lawrie<sup>8</sup> points to a striking parallel between a passage in the *Nīti-nighanḍuwa* and a statement made by the Assessors in a case in 1823 regarding the custom for free families to attach themselves to *valavvas* of chiefs for generations without any implication of a relation of slavery, and infers that the *Nīti-nighanḍuwa* was written after 1823. This conclusion is unwarranted: The Assessors more probably made the statement in question on the authority of the earlier official compilation on which *Nīti-nighanḍuwa* was based.

When D'Oyly planned his *Constitution* he probably intended to detail the administration of each province, but the unfinished manuscript dealt only with Four Kōralēs. One manuscript of this important work was communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society, London by Sir Alexander Johnston, and was published for the first time in the Society's *Transactions* (1835). A new edition, with annotations and additional notes by Simon Sawers and others was compiled by L. J. B. Turner

4. August 15th., 1822 (BJC. CGA. 23/7).

5. Simon Sawers, who succeeded James Gay as Judicial Commissioner and officiated in that capacity from 1821 until his retirement in 1827, says that he convened the chiefs of various districts to ascertain the laws of inheritance. He suggested that D'Oyly's work and his own *Memoranda* be translated into Sinhalese by Armour with the assistance of Katupitiye Lēkam. (Sawers to the Chief Secretary, December 30th., 1826). But at the time of Sawers retirement no such translation was made.

6. Hayley (1923), 16.

7. Ed. Le Masurier and Panabokke (1880). It is possible that the author of the work was acquainted with Roman Law. But the lists of castes do not entitle us to conclude that *Nīti-nighanḍuwa* was the work of a low-country

and published by the Government Press in 1929. But the work remains what it claims to be—"A *Sketch* of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom." Yet, in a great many matters this is the sole authority, and no student of the subject is ever likely to underestimate its importance.

Towards the end of the last century Sir Archibald Campbell Lawrie planned an ambitious *Gazetteer of the Central Province*. The two volumes published by the Government gave a history of every place in the Central Province, with the exception of Kandy itself. Lawrie intended the third volume to contain "a short history of the Kandyan Kingdom and Constitution, a description of the town of Kandy and its temples, and what I know of Kandyan Laws and Customs, and also an index and Glossary" (Preface to volume II). The materials for this work, found among his papers after his death in 1914, were bound in five manuscript volumes, now at the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London.<sup>9</sup>

The chief secondary source on Kandyan Law is Hayley (1923), an useful, but not always accurate, general account.

The official Reports and Diaries of the Agents of Government of the Kandyan Provinces contain detailed information on provincial matters including land tenure and revenue. Particularly noteworthy are the reports on Sabaragamuva by George Turnour and Herbert Wright (CGA. A. 551). The early Administration Reports of the Government Agents of the Kandyan Provinces are also of interest. Of the official Manuals and Gazetteers, Lawrie's *Gazetteer of the Central Province* (1894-6), Bell's *Report on the Kāgalla District* (1892), and Ievers' *Manual of the North-Central Province* (1899), are of abiding interest. Mention must also be made of the Reports of the Service Tenures Commissioner Sir J. F. Dickson, and the Temple Lands Commission (Sessional Papers). The secondary authority on land tenure is Codrington's highly condensed *Ancient Land Tenure* (1938).

In the public Record Office, London, there are the dispatches on Kandyan Affairs (Series CO 54), particularly on political and economic matters. The data collected by the Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry contain reports on various aspects of economic and legal organization in the Kandyan Provinces, by Turnour and others (Series CO 416. Vols. 19, 20 and 21). Some of the manuscript material is in an advanced state of decay.

The first important historical work concerning Ceylon to be written in English was Robert Knox's *Historical Relation* (1681). It was designed to introduce English readers to the strange ways of an exotic people, and in it the author produced a veritable ethnographic monograph. The book describes the state of Sinhalese society in the seventeenth century in much the same way as a modern social anthropologist would portray the social life of a "primitive" community. If Knox's perennial classic is remarkable for its almost uncanny accuracy, it also exhibits the intimacy which can only be gained by a participant-observer who has spent a considerable time among the people he studies, participating in their way of life. As the product of "near twenty years" of such participant-observation, Knox has for well over two centuries been an undisputed authority on "mediaeval" Sinhalese society. Rhys Davids assesses the work as follows:

9. *Kandyan Law and History*. Part of this work was edited by Sir Ivor



"This most valuable work is thoroughly trustworthy. Knox and his companions were not confined in any prison, but in separate villages, where they were allowed to go in and out among the people. Most of them acquired property, and marrying Sinhalese women, became Sinhalese peasants; but Knox himself never gave up the hope of escape, and ultimately effected his purpose. His mode of life in Kandy was the best possible for gaining sure knowledge of the habits of the people; the simple straightforward style of his book must convince every reader of his truthfulness; and the more one knows of the state of society among the Sinhalese in the remote districts who are little acquainted with Europeans, the more one learns to value the accuracy of his intimate and careful observations."<sup>10</sup>

Interest in Knox's classic was revived after the British occupation and its importance universally recognized. Fellowes ("Philalethes") subjoined Knox's text to his *History of Ceylon* (1817).

Many of the early British writers on Ceylon had much the same objective as Knox: to provide the European reader with interesting information about a strange country. These accounts range from the casual travel book such as that by Hoffmeister (1848) to laborious compilations like the bulky tomes of Tennent's *Ceylon* (2nd ed., 1860)—long revered by scholars for the sheer mass of factual and bibliographical data they contained. These encyclopaedic accounts differed in their presentation and emphasis according to the interest of their authors: some were obviously impressionistic,<sup>11</sup> others more "objective." But even such a "scientific" account as Davy's *Interior of Ceylon* (1821) was necessarily arbitrary in its selection of fact. The encyclopaedic account purported to be comprehensive and as such was obliged to deal indiscriminately with such diverse subjects as fauna and flora, climate and geology, ethnology, social and political institutions, economy, law, art, religion, and the history of the island from the "earliest" times. Yet Davy<sup>12</sup> typified the attitude of a generation of scientists who were willing and able to study all varieties of human activity and experience as problems of science. Excessive specialization had not yet inhibited the curiosity of the man of science educated in the fundamentals of current knowledge.

A reaction followed in the latter half of the last century, and the encyclopaedic account, regarded as the bane of "scientific" history, was left to the dilettante.<sup>13</sup> Scholars now concentrated on the authentication and accumulation of a great deal of valuable, but uncoordinated, raw material. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and the various specialized journals were the outcome of this reaction. The pages of several antiquarian journals<sup>14</sup> abounded with information on such subjects as paddy cultivation ceremonies, collected without rhyme or reason, as "folk-lore."

10. Rhys Davids (1877), 33.

11. "Impressionistic" in the sense that historical data was collected according to the writer's personal preferences or impressions, and not on the basis of an "objective" scheme.

12. John Davy, M.D., F.R.S., brother of Sir Humphrey Davy, was on the Army Medical Staff in Ceylon.

13. H. Williams' *Ceylon* (1951) falls far short of the general accounts of the previous century. The rift between the specialist and the general reader

The Sinhalese sources consist largely of palm-leaf manuscripts in Temple and other libraries. They include many documents of sociological interest which have been strangely neglected in favour of the literary works. The class of works comprising the *kaḍa-im pot* or boundary books, the *vitti-pot* or books of incidents,<sup>15</sup> the *tuḍa-pat* and *lēka miṭi* were written in colloquial Sinhalese prose, and being devoid of literary merit, were not generally known to, or valued by the Sinhalese literati.<sup>16</sup> The *lēkam-miṭi* or Land Rolls alone provide as uncharted area for research in land tenure and economic organization.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list consists of works relating to Ceylon, and excludes general works, which are cited in full in the text. The Ceylon works are cited in footnotes by author and date, e.g., Knox (1681). Wherever possible the original date of publication, failing which the approximate date of composition, is given in brackets immediately after each author's name. Where a subsequent edition has been used, the date of this later edition is stated after the title.

- ABAYASEKERA, E.A. (1935 ed.). "Advice to a King." (*CLR*, IV/1. 14-18). [A translation of certain stanzas of *Kavyashe-kharaya*, by Totagamuve Sri Rāhula, Kōṭṭe Period].
- ANDREWS, Robert (1795). "Diary of an Embassy from the Government of Fort St. George to the Court of Candia in the Year 1795" ed. J. P. Lewis. (*JCBRAS*, XXVI/70, Part iii, 1917. 115-155).
- BALDEUS, Philip (1672). *Ceylon*. (Amsterdam. English Ed., Churchill's Voyages, Vol. 3, London 1752).
- BALFOUR, J.A. (1914). "Irrigation in Ceylon." (*TEAC*. 2-8.)
- BASHAM, A.L. (1952). "Prince Vijaya and the Aryanization of Ceylon." (*CHJ*, I/3. 163-171).
- (1883). "Sinhalese Customs and Ceremonies Connected with Paddy Cultivation in the Low-Country." (*JCBRAS*, VIII/26. 44-93).
- (1888). "Superstitious Customs and Ceremonies Connected with the Cultivation of Al-vī or Hill Paddy." *Orientalist*, III. 99-102).
- (1889). "Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Kegalla District." (*JCBRAS*, XI/39. 167-171).
- (1892). *Report of the Kegalla District of the Province of Sabaragamuwa*. (Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, SP XIX. Colombo : George, J. A. Skeen, (Government Printer, Ceylon).
- BENNETT, J.W. (1843). *Ceylon and Its Capabilities*. (London : Allen).
- BERTOLACCI, Anthony, (1817). *A View of the Commercial, Agricultural, and Financial Interests of Ceylon*. (London : Black, Pabury and Allen).
- BERWICK, T. (1870). "Judicial Report." Kandy (*AR*).
- BINNING, Robert, B.M. (1857). *A Journal of Two Years' Travel in Persia, Ceylon, &c.* (London : William H. Allen & Co.).
- BOAKE, W.J.S. (1781). "On Parangi." (*JCBRAS*, V/17. 33-35).
- BOYD Hugh (1800). *Miscellaneous Works*, ed. L. D. Campbell. (London : Cadell & Davies). [Includes an account of an Embassy to the Court of Kandy in 1796].

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

271

- BRODIE, Alexander Oswald (c 1849), Manuscripts. (CML). [Contains data on the Nivarakalaviya and Puttalam Districts. The material on Sinhalese Folk-religion is reproduced in Pieris (1953).]
- (1856). "Topographical and Statistical Account of the District of Nuvarakalaviya." (*JCBRAS*, III/9. 136-161).
- BROHIER, R.L. (1934-'5). *Ancient Irrigation Works in Ceylon*. 3 vols. (Colombo : Ceylon Government Press).
- CASIE CHETTY, Simon (1834), *Gazetteer of Ceylon*. (Colombo : Ceylon Government Press).
- CODRINGTON, H.W. (1909). "The Kandyan Navandanno." (*JCBRAS*, XXI/62. 221-253).
- (1910). *Notes on Some of the Principal Kingdom Chiefs and Headmen and their Dresses, Collected from European and Native Sources*. (Colombo : H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, Ceylon).
- (1924). *Ceylon Coins and Currency*. (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum. Colombo : A. C. Richards, Actg. Government Printer, Ceylon).
- (1931). "Some Documents of Vikrama Bahu of Kandy." (*JCBRAS*, XXXII/84. 64-75).
- (1931a). "Abhaya Dāna." (*CLR*, I. 35-38).
- (1932). "Notes on the Kandyan Dynasty in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." (*CLR*, II. 289-296, 343-351).
- (1933). "Mediaeval Mercenary Forces in Ceylon." (*CLR*, III. 358-392, 439-446).
- [A translation of *Lak Vidiya*, circa 14th century].
- (1933a). "The Gampola Period of Ceylon History." (*JCBRAS*, XXXII/86. 260-309).
- (1938). *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*. (Colombo : Ceylon Government Press).
- (1939). *A Short History of Ceylon*. (London : Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 2nd ed.).
- CODRINGTON, H.W. & MIRIHELLE, D.P.D. (1924). "The Dora-tiyawa Sannasa." (*JCBRAS*, XXIX/77. 307-322).
- COOMARASWAMY, Ananda K. (1905). "Notes on Some Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Ratnapura District." (*JCBRAS*, XVIII/56. 413-428).
- (1909). *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art, Being a Monograph on Mediaeval Sinhalese Arts and Crafts, Mainly as Surviving in the Eighteenth Century, with an Account of the Structure of Society and the Status of the Craftsmen*, (Broad Campden, Gloucestershire : Essex House Press, Normal Chapel).
- CRAWFORD, M.S. (1888). "Sinhalese Method of Reckoning Time." (*Orientalist*, III. 199-200).
- (1896). "Kandyan Notes." Ed. J. P. Lewis. (*MLR*, IV. 263, 285-289). [From materials collected for a Manual of the Kandy District.]



- CŪLAVAMSA*, being the more recent part of the *Mahāvamsa*, Ed. Wilhelm Geiger. 2 vol. (London : Oxford University Press, for PTS. 1929-1930).
- DALADĀ SIRITA*. Ed. S. Paranavitana. (in Hocart. 1931).
- DĀTHAVAMSA*, or the History of the Tooth-relic of Gotama Buddha, Ed. Mutu Coomaraswamy. (London : Trubner & Co. 1874).
- DAVY, John (1821). *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of its Inhabitants*. (London : Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown).
- DE ALWIS, James (1856). "Terms of Address and Modes of Salutation in Use Among the Sinhalese." (*JCBRAS*, III/10. 219-276).
- DE LANEROLLE, Julius (1931). *The Use of n, ñ and l, ḷ in Sinhalese Orthography*. (Colombo : Royal Asiatic Society).
- (1938). "An Examination of Mr. Codrington's Work on Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon." (*JCBRAS*, XXXIV/91. 199-230). [Including Codrington's rejoinder.]
- (1954 ed.), "Mandārapura Puvata." (*JCBRAS*, ns, III/2. 153-160). [A Summary of a Sinhalese war-poem of the 17th Century.]
- DENHAM, E.B. (1911). *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*. (Colombo : Ceylon Government Printer).
- DE SILVA, W.A. (1911). "Note on the Bali Ceremonies of the Sinhalese." (*JCBRAS*, XXII/64. 140-160).
- (1926). "Sinhalese Magic and Spells." (*ibid*, XXX/79. 913-211).
- (1927). "Sinhalese Vittipot and Kaḍa-im pot." (*ibid*, XXX/80. 303-325.)
- (1938). *Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum*. (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum. Colombo : Ceylon Government Press).
- DE ZOYSA, Louis (1870-'71, 1871-'72, 1881). "Specimens of Sinhalese Proverbs." (*JCBRAS*, V/16. 134-148 ; V/17. 25-32 ; VII/23. 15-26).
- DICKSON, Sir J.F. (1870-'72). "Reports of the Service Tenures Commission." (*AR*).
- (1873). "Report on Nuvarakalāviya District." (*AR*).
- J.F. (1884). "Notes Illustrative of Buddhism as the Daily Religion of the Buddhists of Ceylon and Some Account of their Ceremonies Before and After Death." (*JCBRAS*, VIII/29. 297-330).
- (1889). "Ceylon." (*The English Illustrated Magazine*).
- DIPAVAMSA, ed. Herman Oldenburg (London : Williams and Norgate 1879).
- DOYLE, Sir John (1895). *A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan*

- D'OYLY, Sir John (1910 ed). *Diary* [from 1810]. [Ed. H. W. Codrington, Colombo : Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch].
- DUMBARA HĪ LĒKAM MITIYA* (Saka. 1731). Palm-leaf Mss., CML. W15
- EKANAYAKE, A.E. de S. (1876). "On the Form of Government Under the Native Sovereigns of Ceylon." (*JRAS*, ns., 8. 297-304).
- ELLEPOLA, D.B. (1936). "Ancient Land Measures of Ceylon." (*TEAC*, 117-139).
- EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANCIA*, being Lithic and other Inscriptions of Ceylon Ed. D. M. de S. Wickremasinghe, later by H. W. Codrington, and S. Paranavitana (Colombo : Ceylon Government Press, 1910. Vol. 1-4).
- FARMER, B.H. (1952). "Peasant Colonization in Ceylon." (*Pacific Affairs*. XXXV/4. 389-398).
- FERGUSON, D.W. (1896). "Robert Knox's Sinhalese Vocabulary." (*JCBRAS*, XIV/47. 155-200).
- (1932 ed.). "Lineage of the Emperors and Kings of Ceylon." (*CLR*, II/4. 145-152).
- [Translation of a Portuguese Mss. in the Goa Archives.]
- FERNANDO, C.M. (1896). "The Inauguration of the King in Ancient Ceylon." (*JCBRAS*, XIV/47. 125-130).
- FERNANDO, P.E.E. (1950). "Development of the Sinhalese Script from the 8th Century A.D. to 15th Century A.D." (*UCR*, VIII. 222-243).
- FORBES, Major J. (1840). *Eleven Years in Ceylon : Comprising Sketches of the Field Sports and Natural History of that Colony, an Account of its History and Antiquities*. (London : Richard Bentley. 2 vol.).
- GEIGER, Wilhelm (1908). *The Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa and their Historical Development in Ceylon*. (Colombo : H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, Colombo).
- (1937). "The Linguistic Character of Sinhalese." (*JCBRAS*, XXXIV/90. 16-43).
- (1938). *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*. (Colombo : Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch).
- (1938a). "Army and War in Mediaeval Ceylon." (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIV. Rep. *CHJ*. IV, 1954-5)
- GILBERT, William H. Jnr. (1945). "The Sinhalese Caste System of Central and Southern Ceylon." (*J. Washington Academy of Sciences*, XXXV ; Rep. *CHJ*. II/384, 1952).
- GODAKUMBURE, C.E. (1952). "The Kādaora Grant, An Cla-leaf Manuscript From the Kādaora Vihāra in the Central Province." (*JCBRAS*, ns., II/2.141-158).
- GODAMUNE, Albert (1949). *The Sinhalese of Government and the Law*. (Kandy).



- GRIFFITHS MSS. (c 1845). University of Ceylon Library, Peradeniya.
- HARDY, R. Spence (1850). *Eastern Monachism*. (London : Partridge and Oakley).
- HARTSHORNE, Bertram Fulke (1870). "On Oath and Ordeal." (*JCBRAS*, V/18. 1-12).
- (1870a). "The Rodiyas." (*J. Ethnological Society*).
- (1872). "Report on the Nuwara Eliya District." (*AR*).
- (1876). "The Vaddas." (*Fornightly Review, London*, XIX. 406-417).
- HAYLEY, Frederic Austin (1923). *A Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese, including the Portions still Surviving under the Name of Kandyan Law, with Appendices Containing Simon Savers' Memoranda, Notes of Early Decisions, Examples of Deeds, Etc.* (Colombo : H. W. Cave & Co.).
- HERPORT, Albercht (1669). *A Short Description of a Nine-year East-Indian Journey*. (Berne. Trans. R. Raven-Hart in *Germans in Dutch Ceylon*. Colombo National Museum. 1953).
- HEYDT, Johann Wolfgang (1744). *Ceylon*. (Trans. R. Raven-Hart. Colombo : Ceylon Government Press, 1952).
- HILDBERG, W.L. (1908). "Notes on Sinhalese Magic." (*J. Royal Anthropological Institute*. 148-206).
- HOCART, A. M. (1924-'28). "The Indo-European Kinship System, Part I. The Sinhalese System." (*CJSc. G*, I. 179-204).
- (1927). "Confinement at Puberty." (*Man*, 31).
- (1931). *The Temple of the Tooth in Kandy*. (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon IV. London : Luzac & Co.).
- (1931a). "Yakshas and Vāddas." (in *Studia Indo-Iranica*, Essays Presented to Professor W. Geiger, Leipzig).
- (1934). "Decadence in India." (in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, ed. E. E. Evans-Pitchard et al. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.).
- (1936). "The Basis of Caste." (*Acta Orientalia*, Leyden, XIV).
- [Reprinted as Chapter I of *Caste: A Comparative Study*. London : Methuen. 1950].
- IEVERS, R.W. (1880). "Customs and Ceremonies Connected with Paddy Cultivation." (*JCBRAS*, VI/21. 46-52).
- (1899). "The Custom of Polyandry in Ceylon." (*ibid*, XVI/50. 3-6).
- (1899a). *Manual of the North-Central Province, Ceylon*. (Colombo : Ceylon Government Printer).

JANAVAMSA, Ed. H. Nevill (in *The Taprobanian*, 1886. 74-93, 103-114).

JOHNSTON, Sir Alexander (1832). *Ceylon Native Laws and Customs*. 2 vol. (PRO. CO 54/123 and 124).

- JOINVILLE, J. (1803). "On the Religion and Manners of the People of Ceylon." (*Asiatic Researches*, VII. 396-444).
- KAPURUHAMY, K.A. (c 1910). "Rāṭa Sabhāva." (Trans. P. E. Pieris, *JCBRAS*, XXXVIII/106, 1948. 42-68).
- KING, Aelian A. (1872). "Report on the Kegalla District." (*AR*).
- KNIGHTON, William (1840). *The History of Ceylon from the Earliest Period to the Present Time : with an Appendix Containing an Account of the Present Condition*. (London : Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Co.).
- KNOX, Robert (1681). *An Historical Relation of Ceylon Together with Somewhat Concerning Several Remarkable Passages of my Life that Hath Happened Since my Deliverance out of my Captivity*. (London : Richard Chiswell, Ed. James Ryan. Glasgow James Maclehose & Sons, 1911).
- KOTAHALUPOTA. Palm-leaf Mss. CML.
- LACOMBE, Jean De (1681). *Compendium of the East*. (Trans. S. & D. Clark, Ed. Ashley Gibson. London : The Golden Cockerell Press, 1937).
- LAK VĪDIYA, (in Codrington, 1933).
- LAWRIE, Sir Archibald Campbell (1896, 1898). *A Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon (excluding Walapane)*. 2 vol. (Colombo : George J. A. Skeen, Government Printer, Ceylon).
- LAWRIE MSS. "Kandyan Law and History." 5 vol. (Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London).
- [Being materials collected for the projected works found among Lawrie's papers after his death in 1914. Some of the material on Kandyan Law was edited by Sir Ivor Jennings in *UCR*, X, 1952. 185-220.]
- LE MESURIER, C.J.R. (1881). "A Short History of the Principal Religious Ceremonies Observed by the Kandyans of Ceylon." (*JCBRAS*, VII/23. 32-48).
- (1884). "An Keliya." (*ibid*. VIII/29. 462-488).
- (1884a). "Sinhalese Proverbial Sayings." (*Orientalist*, I. 233-235, 275-277).
- C.J.R. (1885). "Customs and Superstitions Connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon." (*JRAS*, ns., XVII. 386-372).
- (1893). *Manual of the Nuwara Eliya District of Ceylon*. (Colombo : J. A. Skeen, Government Printer, Ceylon).
- LEWIS, J.P. (1884). "The Language of the Threshing-floor." (*JCBRAS* VIII/29. 331-364).
- (1884, 1886). "On the Terms of Relationship in Sinhalese and Tamil." (*Orientalist*, I. 217-223; II. 64-69).
- LEWIS, R.E. (1848-'9). "Rural Economy of the Sinhalese, more Particularly with Reference to the District of Sabaragamuwa,"



- LUDOVICI, L. (1873). "The Sports and Games of the Sinhalese." (*JCBRAS*, V/18. 17-41).
- MAHĀVAMSA. Ed. W. Geiger. (London : Oxford University, for the Ceylon Government, 1934).
- MARSHALL, H. (1846). *Ceylon. A Description of the Island and its Inhabitants*. (London : William H. Allen & Co.).
- MATĀLE DISĀVE MAHĀ LĒKAM POTĀ, Palm-leaf Mss., British Museum.
- MATĀLE MAHĀ DISĀVE KAḌA-IM POTĀ. (Trans. in Lawrie, 1898).
- MARAMBE, A.J.W. (1921). *Sinhālē Vidu Pota*, (Kandy).  
(1926). *Tri Sinhālē Kaḍa-im Saha Vittī*. (Kandy).
- MENDIS, G.C. (1939). *The Early History of Ceylon*. (Calcutta : Y.M.C.A. Publishing House).
- MENDIS, T.W. (1935). "Counsel to a Daughter." (*CLR*, IV/6. 259-264). [A translation of certain verses of Totagamuve Sri Rāhula's *Kāvyaśhēkaraya*.]
- MENDIS GUNASEKERA, Abraham (1891). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*. (Colombo : George J. A. Skeen Government Printer, Ceylon).  
(1914). "Sinhalese Terms of Relationship." (*JCBRAS*, Notes and Queries. XXIII/67. xix-xxii).
- MENEZES, Joao Rodrigo De Saa (1681). "The Rebellion of Ceylon." (Translated H. H. St. George. *JCBRAS*, XI/41. 427-608).
- MITFORD, E.L. (1868). Memorandum on Serfdom (in *Papers on Service Tenures*).
- MODDER, F. (1892). "Sinhalese Weights and Measures." (*JCBRAS*, XII/53. 173-204).  
(1894). *Handbook to Kurunegala*. (Colombo : A. M. and J. Ferguson).  
(1908). *Manual of the Puttalam District of the North-Western Province of Ceylon*. (Colombo : Ceylon Government Press).
- MOON, Alexander (1824). *A Catalogue of the Indigenous and Exotic Plants Grown in Ceylon*. (Colombo : Wesleyan Mission Press).
- MULLER, Edward (1883). *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*. (London : Turbner).
- NANAVIMALA THERO, Pandita Kiriella (1942). *Saparagamuve Pārāni Liyavilī*. (The Ancient Documents of Sabaragamuva). (Colombo : Jinalankara Press).
- NEVILL, Hugh (1886). "Relics of Ancient Religions in Ceylon—The Kohomba Yakas and Rice Customs." (*The Taprobanian*, I, 93-96, 114-117, 136-146, 167-175).  
(1887). "Social Rites of the Sinhalese." (*ibid*, II, 47-51).  
(1887a). "The Gadi or Rodi Race in Ceylon." (*ibid*, 81-96, 108-121.)

- NEVILL, Hugh (1887b). "The Kandian Hat." (*ibid*, 4-5).  
(1887c). "The Wanniyars." (*ibid*, 15-21).
- NICHLOAS, C.W. (1950). "Some Offices and Titles in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom." (*UCR*, VIII/2. 116-128).
- NĪTI-NIGHANḌUVA, or *The Vocabulary of Law as it Existed in the Days of the Kandyan Kingdom*. (Translated C. J. R. Le Mesurier and T. B. Panabokke. Colombo : W. H. Herbert, Government Printer, Ceylon 1880).
- NORTH MSS. (CML 8/C18).
- PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE CULTIVATION AND SURVEY OF CHENA LANDS. (SP. XV. 1873).
- PAPERS ON SERVICE TENURES (SP. XVIII. 1869).
- PARANAVITĀNA, S. (1928). "Mahayanism in Ceylon." (*CJSc*, G. II. 35-72).  
(1929). "Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon." (*JCBRAS*, XXI/82. 302-328).  
(1931). "Village Communities of Ceylon." (*CLR*, I/2. 49-53).  
(1931a). "Buddhist Festivals in Ceylon." (in *Buddhistic Studies*. Ed. B. C. Law. Calcutta : Thacker, Ch. XVII. 529-546).  
(1933). "Matrilineal Descent in the Sinhalese Royal Family." (*CJSc*, G. II/3. 235-240).  
(1950). "Sigiri, the Abode of a God-king." (*JCBRAS*, ns., I. 128-183).
- PARK, J.H.W. (1908). "The Irrigating Capacity of Tank." (*TEAC*).
- PARKER, Henry (1909). *Ancient Ceylon. An Account of the Aborigines and of Part of the Early Civilization*. (London : Luzac and Co.).  
(1910-'14). *Village Folk-tales of Ceylon*. (London : Luzac and Co. Vol. i. 1910; Vols. ii and iii, 1914).
- PARANATELLA, T.B. (1908). "Sumptuary Laws and Social Etiquette of the Kandians." (*JCBRAS*, XXI/61. 119-128).
- PERERA, Lakshman S. (1949). *The Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions, from Earliest Times to 1016 A.D.* (University of Ceylon, Ph.D. Thesis. 3 Mss. Vols.).
- PERTOLD, Otaker (1925). "Inquiries into the Popular Religions in Ceylon. Part I. Sinhalese Amulets, Talismans and Spells. (Prague: Facultas Philosophicae Universitatis Carolinae).  
(1929). "Foreign Demons. A Study in the Sinhalese Demon Worship." (*Archiv Orientalni, J. Czechoslovok Oriental Institute, Prague*, I/i. 50-64).  
(1929a). "The Conception of the Soul in Sinhalese Demon-worship." (*ibid*, I/3. 316-322).  
(1930). "The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese—An Inquiry into the Sinhalese Folk-religion." (*ibid*, II. 108-137; 201-254 and 385-424).
- PHEAR, Sir John Budd (1880). *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*. (London : Macmillan & Co.).



- PIERIS, P.E. & FITZLER, M.A.H. (1927). *Ceylon and Portugal* (Leipzig : Verlag Der Asia Major).
- PIERIS, Ralph (1952). "Caste, Ethos and Social Equilibrium." (*Social Forces*. 30/4. 409-415).
- (1953). "The Brodie Papers on Sinhalese Folk-religion." (*UCR*. XI/2. 110-128).
- (1955). "Title to Land in Kandyan Law." (in Essays Presented to Sir Paul Pieris. Colombo Apothecaries Co. Ltd.).
- POHATH, T.B. (1903). "Two Ola Grants of the Seventeenth Century." (*JCBRAS*. XVIII/54. 10-16).
- POLATH-KEHELPANNALA, T.B. (1893). "Marriage Ceremonies of the Kandyans." (*MLR*. II. 12-13; 52-53; 104-105 and 129-131).
- (1894). "New Year Ceremonies of the Kandyans." (*ibid*. II. 232-234 and 246-247).
- (1895). "The Diet of the Kandyan Kings." (*ibid*. III. 200-203).
- (1896). "A Sannasa Granted to Niyangampayi Vihāra, Gampola." (*ibid*. IV. 182-183).
- PRIDHAM, Charles (1849). *An Historical Political, and Statistical Account of Ceylon and its Dependencies*, 2 vol. (London : T. & W. Boone).
- PŪJĀVALIYA, A Contribution to the History of Ceylon. (Translated B. Gunasekera. Colombo : Ceylon Government Press. 1895).
- PYRARD, F. (1619). *The Voyage of* (Translated A. Gray & H. C. P. Bell. London : 1887).
- QUEYROZ, Fernao De (1687). *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*. (Translated S. G. Perera. Colombo : Ceylon Government Press. 1930).
- RĀHULA, Bhikku Walpola (1950). *Some Aspects of the Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. (Mss. University of Ceylon Library, Peradeniya).
- RĀJRATNAKARAYA (in Upham. 1833).
- RĀJĀVALIYA, or A Historical Narrative of Sinhalese Kings from Vijaya to Vimala Dharma Surya II. (Translated B. Gunasekera. Colombo : Ceylon Government Press. 1900).
- RASANAYAGAM, C. (1924). "Vijayabahu's Inscription at Polonnaruwa." (*JCBRAS*, XXIX/17. 266-279).
- REIMERS, E. (1930). "Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames." (*JCBRAS*, XXXI/83. 437-452).
- REPORT OF THE SERVICE TENURES COMMISSION. SP. 1869-'70; 1874-'6.
- REPORT OF THE TEMPLE LANDS COMMISSION. SP. 1857-'8, 1861. AR 1851.

- RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. (1870). *Sinhalese Family Names, Castes &c.* (Mss. bound with *Papers on Ceylon Archaeology*. University of Ceylon Library, Peradeniya).
- (1871). "Report on Nuvarakalāviya." (AR.)
- (1877). *On the Coins and Measures of Ceylon*. (London : Trubner & Co.).
- RIBEIRO, Joao (1685). *The Historic Tragedy of the Island of Ceilao*. Lisbon. Translated P. E. Pieris, Colombo : Ceylon Daily News Press. 1948).
- SAAR, Johann Jacob (c 1647-1657). "Account of Ceylon." (Translated P. Freudenberg. *JCBRAS*, XI/39. 1889).
- SABARAGAMUVA HĪ LĒKAM MITIYA, Saka 1712. (CML).
- SADDHARMARATNĀVALIYA ed. Jayatilleke.
- SAMARANAYAKA, G. (1916). "The Sinhalese Months and their English Equivalent." (*CA and LR*, I/2).
- SATARA KŌRALĒ LĒKAM POTA, MAHĀ LĒKAM MITIYA, Saka 1669. Palm-leaf Mss. (CML, AN 5).
- SAWERS, Simon (1826). *Memoranda and Notes on the Kandyan Law of Inheritance, Marriage, Slavery, Etc.* (in Hayley. 1923). [Published in various editions, and better known as Sowers' *Digest of Kandyan Law*.]
- SCHWEITZER, Christopher (1682). *Journal and Diary of his Six Years East-Indian Journey*. (in *Germans in Dutch Ceylon*. Translated R. Raven Hart, Colombo : National Museum, 1953).
- SELIGMAN, C.G. & B.Z. (1911). *The Veddas*. (Cambridge University Press).
- SELKIRK, James (1844). *Recollections of Ceylon*. (London : J. Hatchard & Son).
- SENEVIRATNA, John M. (1914). "Degraded Sinhalese Villages." (*JCBRAS*, Notes & Queries, XXIII/67. xxii-xxv).
- (1918). "Royalty in Ancient Ceylon." (*ibid*. XXVI/71. 109-148).
- (1936). *Dictionary of Proverbs of the Sinhalese*. (Colombo : Times of Ceylon).
- SHAHIDULLAH, M. (1933). "First Aryan Colonization of Ceylon." (*Indian Historical Quarterly*. IX.)
- SHARPE, W.E.T. (1869). *Memorandum on Service Tenures*, October 10th 1869. (CGA).
- SIDDHARTHA THERO, Rambukwelle, (1935). "The Indian Languages and their Relations with the Sinhalese Language." (*JCBRAS*, XXXIII/88. 123-152).
- SIMHALA SIRIT SANGHARAYA (1932). [Essays on various aspects of social life in the North-central Province, submitted by candidates in a competition organized by the late Mr. C. L. Wickremasinghe, Government Agent, Anuradhapura. Mss. at the Royal Asiatic Society, Colombo.]



- [SUKLING, H.J.] (1876). *Ceylon. A General Description of the Island, Historical, Physical, Statistical*. By an Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles. 2 vol. (London : Chapman & Hall).  
[The British Museum Catalogue gives the author as Capt. H. J. Sukling, the author of later work entitled *Anti-Darwin, or Some Reasons for not Accepting his Hypothesis*. London : 1884.]
- TALDENA RATĒMAHATMAYĀ, C. (1906). *Memorandum on the Maru-weugamvasam System*. (Privately printed, Colombo).  
[This rare tract is known to the author only through citations in Codrington (1938). It is not available in any of the principal libraries in Ceylon or England.]
- TENNENT, Sir James Emerson (1859). *Ceylon. An Account of the Island, Physical Historical and Topographical*. 2 Vo). (London : Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 2nd ed. 1860).
- TURNOUR, George (1824). "Report on the District of Sabaragamuwa." June 18, 1824. [With Remarks thereon by Simon Sawers, the Judicial Commissioner, and Herbert Wright, the Revenue Commissioner.] (PRO. CO. 416/20).
- UPHAM, Edward (1833), *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*. (London : Parbury, Allen & Co.).
- VALENTIA, Lord (1811). *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon &c.* 1802-1806. 4 vol. (London : Rivington).
- VAUX, W.S.W. (1853). *On the Coins of Ceylon : With Some Remarks on the So-called Ring, and Fish-hook Money, Attributed to that Island*. (Read before the Numismatic Society, London, 28th April, 1853). [Royal Empire Society Library, London.]
- VELLASSA, Disāva of (1817). "Account of the Kandy Perehera." (*Ceylon Government Gazette*. September 13. 1817).
- VILLAGES IN MĀTALĒ NORTH AND SOUTH (1887) in 2 Mss. Vols. University of Ceylon Library, Pērādeñiya.  
[This material was collected by village headmen for Sir A. C. Lawrie, whose translations and initials appear on each page. Some of the information in these volumes does not appear in Lawrie's *Gazetteer of the Central Province*.]
- VITTIPOTA (Kurunāgala) in AR 1867, p. 64.
- VIRCHOW, R. (1886). "The Veddas of Ceylon, and their Relation to the Neighbouring Tribes." (*JOBAS*, IX/33. 349-496).
- WARNASURIYA, W.M.A. (1943, 1944). "Inscriptional Evidence Bearing on the Nature of Religious Endowment in Ancient Ceylon." (*UCK*, I. 69-74, 74-82; II. 92-96).
- WEIR, Alex (1933). "Notes on the Investigation and Improvement of Village Tanks in the Northern and North-Central Provinces." (*TEAC*. 21-32).
- WHIEE, Herbert (1888). "Sinhalese Measures of Time." (*Ceylon*, I. 111-112).

- WICKREMASINGHE, A.A. (1924). *Land Tenure in the Kandyan Provinces*. (Colombo : Maha Jana Press).
- WIRTZ, Paul (1954). *Exorcism and the Art of Healing in Ceylon*. (Leyden, E. J. Brill).
- WRIGHT, Henry (1818). *Reports*, September 4th and October 6th 1818. CGA. A-551. [On Administrative matters, revenue, and land tenure in Sabaragamuwa, addressed to George Lusigan, Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces.]
- YAKKUN NATTANAVĀ, A *Cingalese Poem Descriptive of the Ceylon System of Demonology*. Ed. John Callaway. (London : Printed for the Oriental Translations Fund by A. J. Valpy, 1829).
- YOGARNAVAYA [A medical work of the 13th Century by the chief monk of the Mayurapada Pirivena.]



# REGNAL YEARS OF THE KINGS OF KANDY

1591—1604	Vimala Dharma Sūrya I
1604—1635	Sēnarat.
1629—1687	Rājasimha II.
1687—1707	Vimala Dharma Sūrya II.
1709—1739	Narēndra Simha, <i>alias</i> Kuṇḍsāle.
1739—1747	Vijaya Rājasimha.
1747—1782	Kīrti Śrī.
1782—1798	Rājādhiraśimha.
1798—1815	Śrī Vikrama Rājasimha.

# ABBREVIATIONS

abbr.	—	abbreviated form.
alt.	—	alternatively.
<i>Amer.</i>		
<i>J. Sociol</i>	—	American Journal of Sociology.
AR	—	Administration Reports, Ceylon Government (annual).
BC	—	Board of Commissioners for the Kandyan Provinces.
BJC	—	Board of Commissioners for the Kandyan Provinces (Judicial).
c	—	circa.
CA & LR	—	Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
CGA	—	Ceylon Government Archives.
CHJ	—	The Ceylon Historical Journal.
CJSc. (G)	—	The Ceylon Journal of Science (Section G).
CLR	—	The Ceylon Literary Register (3rd Series).
Clv	—	Cūlavamsa, ed. Geiger.
CML	—	Colombo Museum Library.
colloq.	—	Colloquially.
DZ	—	Dry Zone.
ed.	—	edited by.
EZ	—	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
fr.	—	from.
<i>J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.</i>	—	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
JCBRAS	—	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch). (ns=new series).
JRAS	—	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (London).
lit.	—	literally.
Mhv	—	Mahāvamsa, ed. Geiger.
MLR	—	Monthly Literary Register.
n.	—	footnote.
NLR	—	New Law Reports (Ceylon)
NN	—	Nīti-Nighaṇḍuva.
pl.	—	plural.



- PRO. CO — Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office Series.  
 PTS — Pali Text Society.  
 RCD — Revenue Commissioner's Diary Kandy.  
 rep. — reprinted.  
 SBE — Sacred Books of the East, (ed. Muller.)  
 Sinh. — Sinhalese.  
 Skt. — Sanskrit.  
 SP — Sessional Papers (Ceylon Government).  
 SSS — Simhala Sirit Sangarava (Wickremasinghe Mss.,)  
 STC — Service Tenures Commission Reports.  
 Tam. — Tamil.  
 TEAC — Transactions of the Engineering Association of Ceylon.  
 TLC — Temple Lands Commission.  
 TransRAS — Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.  
 trans. — translated by.  
 UCR — University of Ceylon Review.

## GLOSSARIAL INDEX



# GLOSSARIAL INDEX

- aba*, mustard, mustard-seed, 86, 197, 244.
- ācāriyā*, smith, blacksmith, sub-caste of *navandannō*, q.v., 173n, 177, 181, 182, 191.
- ādaraya karaṇavā*, to salute or honour distinguished person by joining both hands, 256.
- address, forms of, 177.
- adhikārama*, (pl. *adhikāramvaru*, abbr. *adikar*), chief officer of state, limits of power, 14; functions, 19-22; 27; role in king's coronation, 28; 29; 30; his permission required to fell royal forests, 46; 58; 97; 113; role in Kandy *Perahāra* (q.v.), 137; 138; 147; judicial powers, 152-153; 153n; ignorance of law, 154; signatures on *sīṭṭu*, 157; authority required for oaths (*divi*), 160, 161; 249.
- adoption, 224.
- aḍukku*, cooked food supplied to officer on circuit, as distinguished from *pāhidum* (uncooked provisions) q.v., 51, 72, 97.
- aḍu kula*, low castes, 170, 171.
- adultery, 145.
- aḍuttu dēval*, appurtenance to a field comprising high land, gardens, *hēn* (q.v.) etc., 41, 48.
- Aggrabōdhi VII (reg. A.D. 781), 189.
- Āhālēpoḷa, *Adhikārama* of last king, 13, 13n; dismissal from office, 22; 50, 65, 107n, 153n, 156, 159n, 173, 206.
- ahura*, fistful; measure of surface, 91.
- Aiyāna, a deity, 247, 262.
- ajjā*, low caste title, 177.
- akkā*, elder sister, female parallel cousin older than speaker, 214.
- āla*, water-course, stream, canal, 41.
- ālapata* (pl. *ālapat*), two strips at either end of a *pota* or tract of paddy land, next to the *kurukupālu* (q.v.), being the property of the headman or *gamarāḷa* (q.v.). Hence *ihala* (upper) and *pahala* (lower) *alapat*. 238, 238n, 246.
- ālapat-vāṭa*, v. *vāṭa*
- ālavēli*, channels leading water to paddy field, 246.
- ālatti*, offering of lights to a deity; lights waved before or over the of an important person as a mark of blessing; incantation offered by maidens preliminary to a king's movements; oblation. *ālattiāmmā*, woman who performs *ālatti* service, 76; *ālatti* service 96.
- Alavatugoḍa Dēvāle, 161.
- alienation of land, 97.
- allegiance, 124.
- alut-asvādduma*=*asvāddumpoṭa* v. *poṭa*.
- alut avurudda*, New Year, 75, 113, 117n, 121.
- alut bata*, lit. new rice; first fruits, 244.
- alut baten kīri itiri*, ceremony of cooking new rice, 247.
- Alutgama village, 21.
- alut gamkāra pēruva*, new land-holding regiment (of *maḍuve* contingent) 96, 105, 121.
- Alutnuvara Dēvāle, 20, 161.
- Aluvihāre Mahatmayō, 159.
- Aluvihāre Vanisēkera Mudiyaṁsē family, 15n.
- āl-vī*, v. *vī*.
- Āmbākke Dēvāle, 161.
- ambalama*, a rest-house; venue of *gamsabhāva* or village council q.v., 149.
- Ambanvala Rāḷa, 12n, 62.
- ambāṭṭayō* (pl.), caste of barbers, 186, 191.
- aṁbuva*, wife, 216n.
- aṁ keliya*, 78.
- ammā*, mother (*ammandi*, a term of endearment), 214. *kuḍā ammā* or *poḍi ammā*=mother's younger sister father's younger brother's wife; *loku ammā*=mother's elder sister, father's elder brother's wife, 214, 214n.
- Ampīṭiya, 3n, 20.
- amu*, a kind of millet (*paspalum serobiculatum*); the weight of the *amu* seed was a unit of weight, 86; as measure of capacity, 89.
- amuṇa*, (i) a measure of capacity, equal to 4 *pāḷa*, q.v. (ii) a measure



of area equivalent to the sowing-extent of one *amunam* of seed 89, 90, 91.  
*ānda*, share, usually one-half; proprietor's portion (*karu-āndē*=one-quarter; *āndē*=one-third), 45, 45n, 51, 56, 60n, 71, 105, 117, 124.  
*āndakārayā*, cultivator or tenant of *ānda* land, 97, 98, 124, 125n.  
*ānda-muttetūva*, proprietor's land cultivated in *ānda*, 62.  
*āndina dīma*, ceremony of giving wearing apparel to bride by bridegroom, 199.  
 Andrews, Robert, 4103n, 110, 110n, 233n.  
 Augammana Adhikārama, 159.  
*āṅḡla*, lineal measure equal to a finger's breadth, 89.  
*anilabadda*, class of tenants with unfixed or indefinite service; chief of, 31. *anilakārayā*, individual of such a class, 66n.  
*aniyam dāha bamba*, "unfixed ten fathoms" at bottom of paddy field (DZ), 238n.  
*aniyam vāṭa*, v. *vāṭa*.  
*anumātirāḷa*, astrologer, 262.  
 Anurādhapura, 3n, 234, 235n, 242, 250n, 258.  
*appā*, (alt. *appocci*, *appacci*), father; *bālappā* (*bāppa*), *kudā appā*, father's younger brother, father's male parallel cousin younger than father, mother's younger sister's husband; *loku appā*, *mahappā*, father's elder brother, father's male parallel cousin older than father, mother's elder sister's husband, 212  
*appu*, *appuhāmi*, terms of respect added to men's names; gentlemen-in-waiting, 15, 53, 172, 177.  
 "appurtenance" of mud-land or field (Sinh. *aḍuttu*, q.v.), 41, 48, 49n.  
*āracci*, (alt. *āracci rāḷa*, abbr. to *āraccilā*), officer appointed over a village or group of villages, in rank below a *kōrāḷa*, q.v.; of *atapattu*, q.v., 101, 181; judicial powers, 154, 155; 173; 216.  
*āracci vasam*, land held by *āracci*, 117.  
*arak-gala*, charmed stone placed on threshing-floor as protection against evil, 81, 84.  
*aramudala*, v. *maha aramudala*.  
*arāva*, a newly opened field, 121n.  
*areka-nut*, 42, 113, 183, 197, 247, 262; areka-nut cutters (Sinh. *girā-kāṭi*), 121.  
 aristocracy of farmers, 171, 216.

Aristotle, 229.  
 army, 52, 103, 103n, 107.  
 artillerymen, 16, 103, 105.  
 Āryans, 4, 5, 5n.  
 Asgiriya Vihāra, 3n, 73, 137.  
*aspaṃṭiya muhandīram nīlamē*, master of the stables, 17, 31.  
 astrologer (Sinh. *nākatrāḷa*), 139, 191, 197, 226.  
*asvādduma* (alt. *dalupata*), land newly brought into cultivation as a paddy field by an *asvāddumkāraya*. Hence, anglicised verb, "to asvāddumize," 44, 45, 69.  
*āsvaha*, lit. eye-poison; evil eye; evil or injury supposed to be caused by evil eye, 80.  
*atalossa*, a measure of capacity; a handful, with fingers slightly bent inwards, 91.  
*atapattu*, the messenger staff of the *disāva* q.v., 24, 31; 71, 101, 116, 116n, 117, 118, 181; privileges of, 58, 59, 153. *atapattu* service, 61, 97, *atapattu* villages, 60.  
*at-daṇḍuvāva* a forest with trees the stems of which are of the size of a forearm, 47n.  
*ātmaya*, self, 227n.  
*āttā* (alt. *āccī*), grandmother, 212.  
*attam karanavā*, to perform agricultural services for another, 81.  
 Attaragama Nīlamē, 156.  
*attikārama*, premium on money-loan paid by borrower, 111.  
*ātulkattalē rājākārīkarana-āya*, 'performers of service at the inner shrine,' being officials of the Temple of the Tooth (*daḷadā māligāva*), 76.  
*āṭul vāhala*, inner gate, of palace, 185.  
*āṭuva*, bin or garner for storing paddy, granary 65, 84, 236; *āṭuva*-keeper of royal fields, 53.  
*at-vārādī*, improper gestures punishable at district councils or *raṭa sabhās*, q.v. (DZ), 256.  
 Audience Hall, 153n; as venue of Great Court (*maha naḍuva*), 157.  
*avadāna maḍuva*, royal burying-ground, 28.  
*āvāssa*, near in relationship, a crossed relationship, 216. *āvāssa massinā*, male cross-cousin, 198.  
*avupata*, sun-leaf, palm-leaf umbrella, 54.  
*avurudda*, year, 92; *avurudda paṇḍuru*, New Year tribute in cash, 121.  
*ayitī*, belonging to, 96.  
*ayiyā*, elder brother, male parallel cousin older than speaker, 214.

*baḍahālayā*, potter, man of that caste, 31, 99, 121, 173n, 191. *baḍahālabadda*, potter's department, 184.  
*baḍa iriṅgu*, a species of maize, 86.  
*baḍallu*, gold and silver smiths, sub-caste of *navandannō*, q.v., 182.  
*baḍavāḍilla*, land granted by government to individuals in consideration of offices held or services rendered (pl. *baḍavāḍili*), 14, 96.  
*badda*, (i) rent or tax, (ii) a body of payers of such tax, e.g., a caste organised as a department, such as *baḍahāla-badda*, (iii) the territory occupied by such tax payers; 99, 181, 187.  
*badderāḷa*, officer who collected taxes and fines, 251, 255, 256, 257.  
 Baden-Powell, B.H., 245.  
 Badulla District, 47n.  
*bāga*, divisions of a tract (*poṭa*) of a paddy field into three portions called *ihala-bāge*, *māda-bāge*, *pahala-bāge*, 238, 238n, 260.  
 Baldeus, Phillip, 204n.  
 Balfour, J.A., 242n.  
*bali*, propitiation, offering or sacrifice to planets; effigy of planet-god, 174, 186, 227, 227n.  
*bamba*, fathom (about 6 feet); distance between extended arms, 89. *baṇḍāra bamba*, the king's measure, 89.  
*bamunu*, priestly (caste), 171n; *bamunagama*, 'brahmin village,' 170n.  
*bānā*, sister's son, son-in-law, 215, 218.  
*baṇḍāra*, lord; *baṇḍāra bim*, lord's land, 62n; *baṇḍāra goḍa bim*, appurtenances of lord's demesne, 50; *baṇḍāra muḍippuva*, chief's share of fine collected at district council (*raṭa sabhāva*), usually one-fourth part. This is tied into a knot in a cloth which is entrusted to the leading *mohottāḷa* (q.v.) to be taken to the chief (*muḍippuva*=knot), 256, 257.  
 banishment; in royal village, 144; across the river, 145n, 179.  
 barber, 184n, 191, 192.  
 barter, 110.  
 Basham, A.L., 5n.  
*basnāyaka nīlamē*, principal lay incumbent of *dēvāle* (q.v.), 31; of Maha *Dēvāle*, 74; 75; 75n; 99; of *Daḷadā Māligāva*, 122; of Nāta *Dēvāle*, 136; of Alutgoḍa *Dēvāle*, 250.  
*batgama*, lit. 'rice-village,' inhabited

by low-caste persons (*padu*), 117, 121; *batgam* caste, 56, 105.  
*batkavana maṃgalla*, rice-feeding ceremony, 220.  
*batkavapudā-nama* (alt. *bat-nama*), name given to child on the occasion of his first feed of rice, usually at seven months, 172, 226.  
*bat-piḍi mārūkiriṃma*, exchange of rice-balls between bride and bridegroom at weddings, 199.  
*baṭu*, brinjal, fruit used for curry, 244.  
*Baṭugedara* village, 50.  
*batvadana vaṇṇaku nīlamē*, king's atterer, 17.  
*bat vārādī*, offences in connection with the preparation and service of meals in district councils (*raṭa sabhās*, q.v.) (DZ), 256.  
 beards, prohibition of, 177.  
*bedāgana*, separately, divided, 246.  
 Beligal Kōraḷē, 13, 61n.  
 Bell, H.C.P., 14n, 25n, 49n, 51n, 65, 65n, 78n, 81n, 82n, 120n, 218n, 267.  
*beravāyō* (pl.) caste of drummers; *beravābadda* (alt. *mahābadda*) drummer's department; chief of 31; 100, 137, 176, 179, 186, 191. Hence *badde minihā*, respectful term for drummer.  
 Bertolacci, Anthony, 44n, 111n.  
 Berwick, T. 63n, 69n, 195n, 208n.  
*bēt*, medicine, 17. *bēt-gē*, the royal dispensary, 15, 116, 153; *bēt-gē muhandīram nīlamē*, chief physician to the king. 17. *bēt-tel*, medicinal oil, 15.  
*betel* leaf (Sinh. *bulat*), 41, 68, 75, 79, 96, 117, 118, 132, 197, 198, 199, 216, 248, 257n, 262.  
*betma*, division of a field on account of shortage of water, each share being a *betma-paṃguva*, (DZ), 239, 251.  
 Bhuvanaika Bāhu I (reg. A.D. 1271-1283), 235; Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV of Gampola (reg. A.D. 1344-5), 3; Bhuvanaika Bāhu V (reg. A.D. 1372-3-1405-6), 49, 114n, 251, 251n, 258; Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI (reg. c. A.D. 1469), 8, 12, 114n, 233n.  
*binara*, one of the Sinhalese months (*māse*, q.v.), 244.  
*binna*, matrilocal marriage, 203-204, 204n, 222.  
*binnāgima*, first ploughing, 79.  
 Bintānna, 19, 23.  
*birinda*, wife, 216n.



- bisōgama*, a queen's village (pl. *bisō-gam*), 44, 50.
- bisōkoṭuwa*, (pl. *bisōkoṭu*), a square shaft or well sunk through the bund of a tank to the bottom of a sluice leading from the inside of the tank to the fields, 242.
- bittara vadanavā*, ceremony of planting small portion in middle of a paddy field before sowing the whole, 246.
- Boake, W.J.S., 261n.
- bōla*, *bōla atta*, a bundle of leaves, generally of *gurulla*, set up at a field to show that it has been appropriated by the party setting it up, and that none had a right to enter and cultivate it, 51, 59, 159, 159n.
- bō*, a tree sacred to Buddhists (ficus religiosa), 81, 173, 250.
- bō-maluwa*, enclosure around *bō* tree, 73n.
- bonḍikkula lēkam*, chief of the department instituted by the last king for the royal iron cannon, 16.
- Bōvatta royal village, 51n.
- Boyd, Hugh, 9n.
- bows and arrows, 107, 108, 108n, 181.
- boycott (Sinh. *tahanama*) (DZ), 253.
- boys employed in the royal storehouse (*maha gabaḍāva*), 52.
- brahmin, 171n. brahmin village (Sinh. *bamunugama*), 170, 170n.
- bribes, 118, 155, 156n.
- brick fortifications, 108.
- British, 3, 103n; spies of, 106; administration of Nuvarakalāviya, 235.
- Brodie, Alexander Oswald, 78n, 80n, 238n, 239, 240n, 245n, 248n.
- Brohier, R.L., 242n.
- Buckland, W., 148n.
- Buddha, 216, 260; Buddha Era, 49n, 92; tooth relic of, 76; sacred feet of, 82, 227.
- Buddhism, 170n, 4; precepts of, followed by kings, 12.
- buffaloes, 41, 79, 124, 125n.
- bulat atta*, bundle of (forty) betel leaves, 79, 82, 84.
- Bulatgama village, 19.
- bulatsurulla*, (lit. a bundle of betel leaves) fee to judge or chief; 51, 56, 58, 77, 98, 101, 110, 118, 122, 155, 250n.
- Buttala District, 74.
- Cameron, C. H., 154n.
- capacity, measures of, 89-90.
- carpenters, 181-182, 185, 191.
- caste, 59, 69n, 85, 98, 99, 186, 234, 236, 236n; ceremonial castes, 244; 252-253, 254, 255, 256, 257; secularization of, 180-187; "caste system," 100, 169-179; caste controversies of 19th. century, 176n; caste disputes (Sinh. *kula vittī*), 250; caste endogamy, 177; sub-castes, 100n.
- cattle-stealing, 144.
- charisma, "gift of grace," 10; routinization of charisma, 11, 12.
- chunam boxes, 182.
- chunam burner (caste), 64, v. also *hunūbadda*.
- cinnamon department, 100, 187.
- classificatory kinship, 208n, 215, 220.
- cocoanuts (Sinh. *pol*), 41, 76, 79, 114, 115, 116, 121, 132, 197, 200. coconut scraper (Sinh. *hiramaṇa*), 182.
- Colombo market, 183.
- Codrington, H. W., 3n, 4n, 22n, 40, 40n, 46, 48n, 61n, 66n, 96n, 103n, 111n, 112n, 115n, 126n, 150, 150n, 181n, 187n, 238n, 242n, 260, 260n, 261n, 267.
- Colebrooke Commission, 115n, 117n.
- commensality, rules of, 177.
- "communal" cultivation, 245, 247-248.
- commutation of grain-tax for money, 116.
- concubinage, 177, 177n, 178, 179, 197, 226.
- confiscation of property, 104; for crimes, 44, 50, 144.
- conflicting judicial decisions, 156, 164.
- connubium, 202.
- conscription, 106.
- Convention, Kandyan, 1815, 172n.
- cooks, caste (*vaḥumpura*, q.v.), 174.
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., 5, 78n.
- coronation, 11, 27-29.
- corporal punishment; by *Adhikārama*, 22, 144, 152; by *disāvas*; 256.
- Crawford, M. S., 57n, 53n, 87n.
- cross-cousin, 198, 215, 218, 221; cross-cousin marriage, 198, 215n, 216.
- crown forest, 47, 47n.

- daḍa*, fine, 110, 144.
- Dādigama, 13.
- dākuma*, lit. "seeing," presents to chief (pl. *dākum*); paid by *Adhikāramas* to royal treasury, 17; by *disāva*, 23, 132; 60, 101, 113, 117; paid to *Disāva* of Sabaragamuva, 128-131; 134, 250. *dākum maṃgalla*, festival at which *dākum* is paid, 61, 118.
- dākum* (special sense of term in relation to *kat-hāl rājakāriya*, q.v.), 114.
- Daḍadā Māligāva (fr. *daḍadā*, tooth-relic of the Buddha; *māligāva*, palace), Temple of the Tooth, 28, 31, 75n, 76; registers of, 119; 122, 124, 132, 135, 139, 153, 174.
- dalumura*, betel, 17.
- dalupata*, newly opened land, the metaphor being from "growing out" (*dulu-bud*) (pl. *dalupat*), 48. v. also *asvādduma*.
- Dambadeniya, 235.
- Dambakaḍuwa royal forest, 46n.
- Dambulla river, 242.
- Dambulla Temple, 73, 161.
- dancing at temple, lands held by woman for, 96. dancing, in *perahāra*, 136; at festivals, 186; at funerals, 229; at chief's houses, 235.
- dārāva*, wife, 216n.
- Daru Naguna Kavi, 223n.
- Daryll-Forde, C., 5n.
- dasagam*, a group of ten villages, being an ancient unit of local government, 234.
- dāsaya*, (alt. *vālā*), slave, bondman.
- antōjāto*, slave born within master's house; *dhanakkito*, purchased slaves; *karamarānito*, slaves by capture, degradation; *sāman dāsaviyōpagāto*, slaves of their own accord, 188.
- ḍaṭṭi*, frill of *adhikārama's* state hat, 22.
- dāṇigoyiā*, rake, 82, 84.
- davasa*, day (including night), 92.
- Davy, John, 11, 12n, 14n, 16, (quoted on *vaṇṇaku nilamēs* of treasury), 18n, 20n, 25n, 27-29 (quoted on coronation), 46 (on land tenure), 46n, 52n, 65n, 73 (quoted on temple lands), 73n, 78n, 87n, 99n, 100n, 111n, 112n, 113n, 139 (on *kāṭṭi* and
- 191 (list of castes), 195n, 197n, 201, 207n, 208n, 225n, 226n, 227n-228 (quoted on funeral ceremonies), 228n, 268, 268n.
- de Alwis, James, 174n.
- death, inquiry into, 151.
- death duties, 113.
- death penalty, 145.
- debt, 160n; principal and surety, 148.
- decadence, 258.
- degidiyāna*, type of forest, 47n.
- degradation, 145.
- degraded villages (*gattara*), 180, 249n.
- Dehigama Uḍagabaḍā Nilamē, 156n, 159n.
- Dehigama *Disāva*, 58n.
- dehiya*=*dēmaḍavuma*, q.v.
- delicts, 144-147.
- deḷkoḍiya*, official flag (*deḷa*=office, employment) (pl. *deḷkoḍi*), 23, 101, 102.
- de-maḍavuma*, second harrowing of paddy swamp, 79, 246.
- Demala Hatpattu, 47, 116, 250.
- democracy, 176.
- Denham E. B., 172n, 177n, 205 (quoted on polyandry), 205n, 220n.
- De Wirt, Sebald, 112.
- deṇiya*, a valley, often marshy, suitable for paddy cultivation (pl. *deṇi*), 40.
- departments or guilds, 50, 69, 99, 100, 101, 103 (*maḍuve*), 105-106 (*lēkam*), 181, 181-183 (*kottalabadda*), 184-185 (*radābadda*), 185 (*handabadda*), 185 (*kūruve*), 185-186 (*hunubadda*) 186 (*beravābadda*), 186 (*kinnarabadda*).
- de Silva, W. A., 269n.
- dēvakāraya*, service of the gods, 247.
- dēvāle*, abode of the gods, temple, 74, 75, 75n, 76; privileges of officiating priests (*kapurāḷas*), 153; oaths in, 157, 160, 161, 162. *dēvālagama*, village attached to *dēvāle* (pl. *dēvālagam*), 74, 74n. *dēvāle* people, exempt from *disāva's* jurisdiction, 24.
- deviyā*=*dēvayā*, deity (pl. *deviyō*), 84. *deviyanṇē dānaya*, almsgiving in honour of gods, 81.
- Dharma Parākrama Bāhu (reg. A.D. 1509-1528), 205.



Dickson, Sir J. F., 63n, 64 (quoted on service tenures), 64n, 229-230 (quoted on *godane* ceremonies), 236n, 241n, 242n, 245n, 267.  
*diga*, patrilineal marriage, 201, 203n, 204, 204n, 219, 223n, 224, 225.  
*diga dila*, bride given away in *diga*, 223.  
*disā lēkam miṭiya*, provincial Land Rolls, 121.  
*disāva*, governor of a province or *disāvanē* (q.v.), 20, 23, 24, 25, 51, 54, 56, 60, 71, 72, 75, 98, 101, 102, 106, 107, 113, 116, 117, 118, 121n, 181, 182, 184, 185, 227, 233, 234, 249, 250, 250n, 251; judicial powers, 153; ignorance of law, 154; authority to order oath (*diviya*), 160. *disāve gabaḍāgam*, royal lands in provinces at disposal of *disāva* 51; *disāva mohottāla*, official of 71, 251, *disāve rājākāriya*, services claimed by *disāva*, 101, 117.  
*Disāva* of Vellassa, quoted on the Kandy Perahāra, 250.  
*disāvanē* (*disāvanaya*, *disāva*), province or territory controlled by *disāva*, q.v., 22, 23, 101, 107, 233, 234.  
*disherison* of heirs-at-law, 148, 224.  
*divel*, service lands (10th. century), 95.  
*diviya*, oath (pl. *divi*), 159-163.  
*divi-sittuwa*, v. *sittuwa*.  
*divorce*, 197, 200-201, 200n, 225, 225n.  
*diya*, water; *diya-bedum*, water-shares 41, 41n; *diya-hunḍuwa*, *diya-lāha*, *diya-nāliya*, *diya-pata* (liquid measures), 90.  
*diyavadana nilamē* (alt. *divi-nilamē*), chief of the King's Bath, also principal lay officer of the Temple of the Tooth (*daḍadā māligāva*), 14, 15, 27, 31, 76, 77.  
*doḍankema*, charm for averting worm-pest, 247.  
*Doḍanvela Dēvāle*, 161.  
*Dolosbāge*, 31.  
*Dolosvālla Disāva*, 62n.  
*Downing*, John, Judicial Commissioner, 189 (quoted on slavery), 189n.  
*dowry*, 201, 224.  
*D'Oyly*, Sir John, 13n, 14n, 22n, 24, 25n, 25n, 30, 39n, 43n, 45n, 46n.

107 (quoted on preparations for war in Kandy), 107n, 110n, 111 (quoted on interest), 111n, 114n, 115, 115n, 116n, 117n, 118n, 119n, (quoted on *lēkam miṭi*), 120n, 121n, 125 (quoted on *otu* tenures), 125n, 127, 146n, 152n, 154, 154n, 155n, 156n, 157n, 159n, 162n, 163n, 177n, 181n, 183n, 185 (quoted on *handabadda*), 185n, 186n, 189n (on slavery) 190n, 201n, 204 (quoted on *binna* marriage), 204n, 206n, 225n, 243n, 249n, 250, 250n, 268, 268n.  
*Dravidians*, 45.  
*dress*, of *adhikāramas*, 22; regulation according to caste, 176-177; of *navandannō*, 182; of washers, 184; of *kinṇaru*, 186.  
*drowning* of women, 145n.  
*drummers*, 174, 191; *drummer-as-trologer*, 85.  
*Dry Zone*, 3, 4, 41, 57, 157, 241, 241n, 258, 259, 260n, 261.  
*dues* (to lord), 63.  
*duggannarāla*, personal attendant of the king, selected from the class of chiefs known as *dugganna pēruva*, 15, 15n, 16, 50, 121, 152.  
*Dumbara*, 19, 24, 31, 51n, 107n, 111, 185.  
*Dumbara hā lēkam miṭiya*, (Saka 1731), 115, 121.  
*dunukāra lēkama*, originally chief of the archers, later head of the turmeric department, 18; *dunukāra* people, 25, 101; *dunukāra vasam* (lands), 121.  
*Dunuvilla Disāva*, 114; *Dunuvilla estate*, 58n.  
*durāva* (*durē*) caste, 64.  
*durayā*, headman of low caste, esp. *padu*, 21, 76, 77, 106, 121, 185; *durayā* people, 25, 250; *duraya* holdings, 62.  
*durutu*, one of the Sinhalese months (*māse*), 244.  
*Dutch*, 3, 4, 235; Dutch blockade 176; Dutch territory, 176; Dutch Wars, 103, 104, 105, 106, 181, 265.  
*duva*, daughter, man's brother's daughter, woman's sister's daughter, 215.

*ēdanda*, plank or tree laid across

elephants, 23, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 145n, 186, 243. elephant people, 184n, 185, 191.  
*elivenavā*, dawn, 91.  
*Ellapola*, D.B., 87n.  
*emancipation* of slaves, 190.  
*endogamy*, 252n.  
*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, 9n, 13n, 40n, 41n, 43n, 48n, 49n, 57n, 58n, 74n, 95n, 170n, 172n, 233n, 234n.  
*espionage*, 96n.  
*etanā*, female honorific, 177, 190.  
*evidence* of absent witnesses, 157.  
*evil eye*, v. *ās-vaha*; evil tongue, v. *kaṭa-vaha*.  
*extrovert-introvert* typology, 259n.  
*family*, 195, 224-228.  
*fanam*, v. *panama*.  
*farming* of revenues, 116-118.  
*"father-right"*, 222, 223.  
*fees*, by *adhikāramas* to king, 19; by *basnāyake nilamēs* on appointment, 75, 75n; to astrologer, 79; *mura ridi*, in lieu of watch-duty, 101; 118; borrowing to pay, 110; by successful party in lawsuit to *disāva*, 154.  
*Fernando*, C. M., 9n.  
*Ferguson*, D. W., 11n, 222n.  
*Fernando*, P. E. E., 4n.  
*ferries*, 21.  
*festivals*, 22, 75, 121 (festival of lights 121n (the four festivals), 185, 186.  
*fine*, (Sinh. *daḍa*, q.v.) 145; 249n; collective, 143, 151; as perquisites of office, 151; imposed by *gamsabhāvas*, 149; by *uḍa raṭa* chiefs, 155.  
*firearms*, 108.  
*fish*, dried (v. *karavaḷa*).  
*flogging* through the four streets of Kandy, 145.  
*Forbes*, J., 11n, 40n, 150n.  
*forest*, 46-49n, 243-244 (DZ).  
*Four Kōraḷēs*, (Sinh. *Satara Kōraḷē*), 13, 13n, 23, 25, 32, 51n, 53, 60n, 61n, 65, 66n, 69, 99, 101, 105, 113, 114, 116, 116n, 117, 117n, 135, 184, 185.  
*fragmentation* of land, 224.  
*funerals*, 66, 67, 68; funeral rites, 226-230.  
*Fustel de Coulanges*, 245n.

50-55, 56, 60, 62; 106, 113, 121, 124, 125, 182, 183.  
*gabaḍā nilamē*, chief of royal storehouse, 16, 51 (provisioning of), 52, 139.  
*gabaḍā* people, exempt from *disāva*'s jurisdiction, 24.  
*gabaḍāva*, royal storehouse in charge of *gabaḍā nilamē*, 15, 45n, 50n, 51, 52, 53, 56, 115, 118, 124, 206n; *mahā vāhala gabaḍāva*, the principal storehouse, 22, 50, 51, 52, 72, 114, 116, 119, 183, 184; *palle vāhala gabaḍāva*, the queens' storehouse, 50, 51, 185; *uḍa gabaḍāva*, the king's private storehouse, 50, 51n, 52.  
*gahalagambaḍayō* (alt. *gahalayō*), executioners and scavengers, sub-caste of *panṇayō*, 187.  
*gahē galē koṭalā ahak karaṇavā*, to cast out person permanently from kin-group (*variga*) on account of serious offences by symbolically chopping a tree or rock, 253.  
*Gaja Bāhu* (reg. A.D. 113), 10, 258n.  
*gajanāyaka nilamē*, chief of the elephant department, 14, 135.  
*Galagoḍa Adhikārama*, 61n, 249.  
*Galboḍa Kōraḷē* (Four Kōraḷēs), 25; *Galboḍa Pattuva*, 25, 121.  
*galgānnō*, lapidary, stone-polisher (a division of the *navandannō* caste), 182.  
*galladu*, of elephant department, in charge of decoy elephants, 185.  
*gallat-gam* (alt. *gamlat-gam*), villages in Three Kōraḷēs held on the tenure that the grantee had no other right than that of having the proprietor's field (*mutteṭṭuwa*) cultivated for himself by the tenants who had to pay dues and render services to the crown, 61n.  
*galvaḍuvō*, stone-cutters, division of *navandannō* caste, 182.  
*gama*, village (pl. *gam*) [in the Kandy Country also applied to a single estate or field] 48n, 50n, 54, 61n, 236, 241; *gam bāndima*, founding a new village, 260; *gam mudala*, village revenues, 49; *gam sālāsma*, lay-out of village, 48n.  
*gamarāla*, (alt. *gamayā*, *gammāhē*), village headman, 39, 52, 150, 183 (of *maḍigē* villages), 234, 236, 236n, 245.



- gamika*, village headman (ancient), 234.
- gam himi svāmiya*, recipient and lord of the village, 61.
- gamkāra pēruva*, v. *maḍuve*.
- gamkārayō*, holders of land, "land-lord," vis-a-vis *aṇḍakārayō*, 124, 125, 125n.
- gam mudal*, village revenues.
- gamladdā*, recipient or proprietor of a village, one who enjoyed its revenues and services, 60, 61, 61n, 62, 62n, 63, 65, 66, 68, 122; *gamladda paṃguva* = *mutteṭṭuva*, q.v.
- gamladdō*, (alt. *galladdō*), first rank of *navandannō* caste, 182.
- gammāhē* = *gamarāla*, village headman, 122, 183, 184.
- gam nayan minissu*, village smiths, 182.
- Gampola*, 3, 3n, 31, 51n, (royal villages in), 52, 251, 258. *Gampola* water course, 121.
- gamsabhāva* (alt. *gam sabē*), village tribunal or council, 149-150, 225, 254.
- gamvasama* (alt. *gannilē*, pl. *gamvasam*), land held by *gamvasamkārayō* (alt. *paṭabāṇḍō*), "in practice all those not attached to another department" (Codrington), and considered next in rank to the *atapattu* people, 52, 68, 71, 75, 97, 121, 122; land held by a *gamarāla*, esp. DZ., 236, 238, 238n, 244, 251, 254; *gamvasam kanuva* = *mulkāṭē*, q.v.; *gamvasam tullu*, the *gamarāla*'s share of the fish caught in the DZ tank, 254.
- gamvasamkārayō*, holders of *gamvasam* lands, in practice those not attached to another department (alt. *paṭabāṇḍi*), 25, 72, 101, 106, 116, 181.
- gamvāsīyō*, "village inhabitants," vis-a-vis *kuḍin*, the mass of cultivators, 39, 40.
- Gaṇesa*, a deity, 200n.
- gāni*, female, woman, wife, 216.
- gannilē*, i.e., *gam-nilaya*, office or service of village headman (*gamarāla*), 121 (lands held in consideration of).
- Gonnōruva*, river at, 137.
- garā yakā* dancing, 78, 80.
- garden* (Sinh. *gatta*), 121.
- Gātambe*, river at, 137.
- gattara*, a low caste said to be descendants of captives, or degraded by kings, 180, 191, 192.
- gavva*, a measure of distance about 4 miles (pl. *gav*), 87, 89.
- Gay, James, Judicial Commissioner, 14n, 30, 225n.
- gē*, house, 173n, 252n.
- gebanarāla*, officers of storehouses, treasuries, and arms-houses, 52, 74n, 153 (privileges of).
- gedara āttā*, mistress of the house, house-wife, 216.
- gēdara*, house, 173, 173n. *gedaravatta* (alt. *ge-vatu*), lit. house-garden, 42, 49.
- Geiger, Wilhelm, 4n, 5n, 9n, 103n, 108n 181n, 229n.
- genealogies, 58, 58n.
- gevaṇṇa* = *hārenapoṭa*, v. *poṭa*.
- gift of land, revocability of, 43n.
- ginjalls*, 106, 135, 137, 139, 186.
- giniyam*, hot, "heating," 40n.
- girā kātī*, areka cutters, 121.
- gladiators, 16.
- goḍa bīm*, high land, 41, 48, 49.
- Godamunne, Albert, 71n.
- godāne* ceremony, (last rites), 227, 229-230.
- goḍavalpiṭa* = *hēn*, q.v.
- gold coins, 112.
- goldsmith, possession of slaves by, 190; villages of 172n.
- Goloubew, V., 76n.
- gonbadda*, (cattle department) of Ūva, chief of 32.
- gōni*, gunny bag, 183.
- govikama*, threshing, 82.
- govitān*, agriculture, 78.
- goviyā*, cultivator, 84.
- goyigama* (*goyivamsē*), caste of farmers, 74, 67, 69, 71, 76, 100, 100n, 103, 103n, 153, 171, 171n, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177n, 180 181, 182, 190, 191, 202.
- grain-tax, 4, 62n, (under British), 113, 115, 116, 180.
- grants of land by king, 57-59; formalities, 57; verbal (temporary), 104.
- Great Court = *maha naduva*, q.v.
- Great Dynasty (*mahāvamsa*), 259n.
- Greeving's Dairy, 107n.
- Griffiths Mss., 78n.
- guerilla warfare, 107.

- hakurō* (alt. *haṅgarammu*, *kaṇḍē minissu*, *vahumpura*), caste of jaggery makers, 77, 146, 176, 178, 186, 191, 192, 197.
- halāgama* (alt. *salāgama*, *hālī*), caste of cinnamon workers, 100, 100n, 177n, 180, 186, 191.
- Haloluva, 20, 31.
- haluapullana hēnayā*, washerman, 121.
- haluvaḍana nilamē*, officer in charge of the royal robes and dressing-room (*halu mandapē*), 15, 27, 185.
- Hambantota district, 29n.
- hāmī*, male honorific, 177.
- hāmīnē*, wife, housewife, 216.
- hāmuduru* (alt. *hāmuduruwō*, *hānduru*, vocative *hānduruwanē*), lord or reverend, 171n, 172, 172n, 176, 191.
- handabadda*, department of carpenters and weavers, 185.
- Handessa Vihāra, 73n.
- handī*, a caste "few in number, were required to furnish the royal stores with baskets and winnows" (Davy) 185, 191.
- hānduru* = *hāmuduru*, q.v.
- haṅgarammu* = *hakurō*, q.v.
- hangidiyā*, head smith, 25, 65, 182.
- hannali*, caste of tailors, 186, 191, 192.
- Hantāna, 44, 46.
- Hanvāla river, 242.
- Hardy, Rev. R. Spence, 74n.
- hārenapoṭa*, v. *poṭa*.
- Hārispattuva, 19, 24, 31, 107n, 125, 185.
- Hartshorne, Bertram Fulke, 82n, 87n (quoted on Sinhalese measures) 89, 89n, 90n, 159n, 206 (quoted on infanticide in Ūva), 206n, 222n.
- hātākma*, lit. "resting," a Sinhalese mile, 87, 89.
- hātī arinḍa*, pause for breath; distance a man carrying a pingo could travel without pausing for breath = a Sinhalese mile, 87.
- hat mutu paramparāva*, seven-generation patrilineage, 218n.
- havulē kumburu vāda kirīma*, communal assistance for agricultural operations, 248.
- Hayley, F. A., 150, 150n, 152, 152n, 198n, 202, 202n, 203n, 208n, 218n, 220n, 266, 266n, 267.
- headmen. Kandyan list of 30 26
- 47n, 48, 48n, 51, 86, 125, 243, 243n, 244, 261. *hēn kanu gahanavā*, marking circumference of *hēna* with pegs, 244. *hēn* taxes, 244. *mulkāṭē hēna*, circular pattern, 244; *iravillī hēna*, square, 244.
- hēnayā*, washer, 184, 185 (at palace). hereditary offices, 64, 76 (in Temple of the Tooth).
- Herport, Albert, 222n.
- hēvānnāhē*, militia, 222n.
- Hēvāhāṭa*, 19, 24, 31, 103, 107n, 125, 185.
- hēvā-durayā*, head of low-caste contingent, 21.
- hēvā-unnāhē*, soldier of high birth, 105;
- hēvā-vasama*, land belonging to military class, 25, 71, 101, 103.
- hēvayā*, soldier, 105.
- hēvisi bali tovīl korana āyō*, member of ceremonial castes, 224.
- Heydt, J. W., 65n.
- "high crimes," 143, 145.
- hī lēkam miṭṭiya*, register of ploughed lands, 119, 119n, 122.
- hīna*, dream, 260.
- Hīnayāna Buddhism, 4, 259.
- Hindu caste, 170, 171.
- hīragē* (alt. *hīragedara*), jail; *hīragē kankānams*, officers of prison, 19, 21; *maha hīragē*, the Great Jail, Kandy, 21, 145, 153.
- hīramaṇa*, coconut-grater, 182.
- hīraya*, wife, 216n.
- hīyara hēn*, type of forest felled for *menēri* and *kurakkan* crops, 47.
- Hocart, A. M., 10n, 11, 11n, 76n, 153n, 170n, 171n, 172n, 174, 174n, 175, 175n, 180n, 212, 214n, 226n, 227n, 258n.
- honey, 48, 245.
- honorifics, 177.
- horoscopes, 198, 201.
- horses, 23.
- horovva*, sluice, 242.
- "house," family group or kin-unit, 173. (Sinhalese *gē*, *gedara*).
- houses, 42.
- house-gardens, 49.
- hulanbadda*, migratory branch of *maḍigē* or transport department, 183-184.
- hulu-atta*, torch of dried coconut leaves, 106.
- hura*, measure of weight and of



witchcraft, enchantment by spells and incantations, 144, 255, 255n.  
*hunūbadda*, lime-burner's department, a caste, 185-186, 191; chief of, 31, 185. *hunugānō*, plasterers and whitewashers, 185.  
*hūrā*, a male cousin, 214n.  
 hypergamy and hypogamy, 177-179.  
 Ievers, R. W., 3n, 82n, 84, 86 (quoted on *hēn*), 86n, 204n, 211n, 236n, 238n, 239n, 240n, 243n, 245n, 249n, 250n, 251n, 255n, 262 (quoted on *muṭṭi māṃgalaya*), 262n, 267.  
*ihatvāṭa*, v. *vāṭa*.  
 II, one of the Sinhalese months, 244.  
*ilaṃgam maḍuva*, Dancing Hall of palace, 132.  
*ilavva*, calamity, fig. funeral, 252; *ilav-maḍul*, funeral and marriage ceremonies; *ilav-maḍul tahanan karaṇva*, to prohibit members of a kin-group (*variga*) from admitting banned person to funeral and marriage ceremonies, 253.  
 immigrant tribes from India, 100, 180.  
 impaling of criminals, 145n.  
 imprisonment, 145.  
 incest, 198, 215, 216-219.  
 Indian castes marrying Sinhalese, 202.  
 indirect rule, 234.  
 infanticide, 188, 206, 206n, 207.  
 inflation, 112, 127.  
 inheritance, 200, 202, 224.  
 Inscriptions: Alutnuvara Slab, 233n; Badulla Pillar, A.D. 942, 172n; Dādigama Slab, 12, 114n, 233n; Daḷadāge (Mahinda IV), 40n, 43n; Gaḍalādeniya, 114n; Galapata Vihāra, 74n; Maḍavala Rock, 48n; Maḷagaṇē Pillar, 57n; Rock Inscription of Bhatī Abhaya, 57n; Vēvālkaṭiya Slab, 234.  
 interest on capital (Sinh. *poli*), 110-111.  
 intermarriage between castes, 100n, 187.  
*iravilla v. hēna*.  
 ironworks, 108, 108n.  
 irrigation, 40, 41.  
*ispili baṇḍanava*, putting on head-dress after period of

*issara* (alt. *kāla*, pl. *issaraval*), a portion of land reaching from one side to the other of a paddy field containing several *liyāddi* or small strips, 238, 239, 239n, 243, 245, 248.  
*i-vaduṇvō* (pl.), lacquerers of arrow and spear shafts, fan handles &c. branch of *navandannō* caste, 181.

Jaffna, 235, 235n, 249, 250.  
 jaggery, 116, 132, 188.  
*jāma*, one of the eight periods into which the day and night were divided, 16.  
 James, E. O., 10n.  
 Janavamsa, 171n, 174n, 181.  
 Javanese comb, 67.  
 Jennings, Sir Ivor, 3n, 9n, 103n, 267n.  
*jivaya*, life, 227n.  
 Johnston, Sir Alexander, 5n, 100n, 180n, 267n.  
 Joinville, J., 40n, 80n.  
 justice, even, 145.

*kada*, pingo (pl. *kat*); *kada rājakāriya*, v. *kat-hāl rājakāriya*; *yelada kada* pingo-load presented to bride's relatives, 197-198.

*kaḍa-im pota* (fr. *kaḍaima*, boundary, frontier), Boundary Book, 119, 269.  
*kaḍavara*, species of demon, 143.

*kaḍavata*, (pl. *kaḍavat*), barrier, boundary, 154, 233, 249.

Kaḍgannāva Pass, forest at, 46.  
*kaḍuḷu-bulat*, bundle of betel leaves offered to bridegroom by cross-cousin (*āvāssa massinā*) of bride, 216.

*kaduru* (combretum ovalifolium), grove, 81.

Kaffirs in army, 103.

Kāgalla District, 47, 65.

*kākiri*, cucumber, 86.

*kāla*, one-fourth (of a pingo), 114.

*kalanda*, a jeweller's weight=40 grains, 89, 166.

Kālanitissa (reg. c. B.C. 200), 204.

Kalā Oya, river, 242.

Kalāvāva, tank, 242.

*kālbedīma*=*uṣaṭabedīma*, division of a field lengthwise among heirs, 239.

*kalpa*, a period said to be equal to a day of Brahma; 4,320,000,000 solar years, 92, 166, 169.

*kamata*, threshing-floor, 81 84, 247.

*kammatama*, smithy, forge, 106.

*kaṇḍakapābedīma*, division of a field crosswise among heirs, 239.

*kanda uḍa*, *kanda uḍa kaṭṭuva*, "the country above the mountains," 3n, 233.

Kandy, 2, 2n (derivation of name), 15, 19, (police of), 22, 52, 53, 54, 60, 61, 72, 75n, 76, 97, 98, 103n, (military preparations in), 106, 107, 110, 112, 116, 121n, 149, 176, 183, 184, 185, 235, 249n, 250n.

Kandyan Marriage Ordinances; (1859), 211; (1952), 220.

*kankāṇama*, petty headman, overseer, officer below the rank of *āracci* (q.v.) 15, 26; 52, 53 (of royal stores); 76 (of *māligāva* village); 121.

*kapa*, logs used in *perahāra* ceremony, 135, 137.

Kāpṭipīḷa family, 3n, 198n, 216n.

*kapurāla* (alt. *kapuvā*), demon priest 74n, 75; 135, 137 (role in *perahāra*); 139; 147; 161 (fees to, for administering oath); *kapa* service, 96.

Kapuruhami, K. A., 253n, 254, 254n.

*karamāru*, lit. "change of shoulders," "a portion of a *mulpamguva* or whole farm, the holder of which, according to its relative extent, performs in his turn a due portion of the duty" (D'Oyly), 95, 98.

*karavāla*, dried fish, 176, 183, 197.

*karāvō*, fisher caste, 171n, 173n, 176, 176n, 183, 191.

*kāriya karannō*, term used for minor officers (DZ), i.e., *mohottāla*, *lēkama*, *baddērāla*; also minor headmen such as *kōrāla* and *āracci* (Kapurhami), 251. *kāriya karannā rāla*, officer of *daḷadā māligāva*, q.v., 153.

*karma*, deeds, acts, 170.

*kasakāra* people, whipcrakers of the *adhikāramas*, 116n; *kasakāra lēkam*, officer of, 21.

*kastāna* (from Portuguese), sabre, sword, 54.

*kat* (pl.), pingo, q.v., 197; *kat-hāl*, pingo-dues, 15 (remission of), 62, 72, 102, 104, 114-117, 180. *kat-hāl lēkam mitina*, register of pingo dues

*kāṭa sākkiya*, 57, 59, 148.

*kaṭāva*, post planted as centre-point of circular *hēna* (q.v.), 244n.

*kaṭavaha*, evil tongue, 80.

*kaṭavārādi*, oral offence, 256.

*kāṭta*, 260.

*kaṭṭādiya* (alt. *kaṭṭādirāla*), sorcerer, demon-priest, exorcist, 80.

*kaṭṭakaduvela*=*asvāddumpoṭa*, v. *poṭa*.

*kāṭti māṃgalla*, a Kandyan festival in honour of the gods, generally celebrated on the night of the full moon in the month of *kartika* (December) [in Knox's vocabulary, any festival, e.g., *alut sāl kāṭti māṃgalla*, *avurudda kāṭti māṃgalla*], 121, 139.

*kaṭubulla* (alt. *katupulla*, *kaṭupurulla*) thorn-staff of official; one who carries it, i.e., messenger and police officer of *adhikārama*, q.v. 20-21, 58, 152 (imprisonment in *kaṭubulla* village), 153.

Kaṭugastota ferry, 28.

Kautiliya's Arthashastra, 257n.

*kaṭikāra maḍuvē muhandiram nilamē*, director of king's singers, 17.

Kavyashēkharaya, by Tōṭagamuvē Sri Rāhula, 145n, 223n.

*kāyīya*, cooperative or reciprocal work, 247, 248.

*kema* (pl. *Kem*), charm, 80, 247. *Kemvara*, worship of demons, etc. 146.

Kenny, C. S., 143 n.

*keravala*, half (of a pingo), 114.

*keta*, paddy fields, esp. royal fields (pl. *ket*) 44, 249.

*kevilpeṭṭiya*, basket of sweetmeats, 75.

*kiḍahakeli*, lass, wench, 177.

*kiḍiyō* (alt. *kiḍayō*), basket-maker, 191.

*kiligē*, (alt. *kilipāla*), hut or out-house for menstruating woman (lit. "impurity-house"), 226.

King, 60, 96, 99, 100, 102, 104, 106, 113 (money income of), 117, 118, 144 (judicial appeals to), 156, 157, 176, 184, 185, 233, 249n; king's Bath (*uḷpāṅgē*), 16; king's horses, 17; king's retinue, 14-18; king's store, 116, 139. v. also under king-ship.

King, Aelian, District Judge Badulla, 47n, 254n.



- ment (*kinnarabadda*), 31 (chief of), 64, 100, 172n, 196, 191, 192.  
 kinship, 195, 212-223.  
*kiravula*, carcass (of deer), 48.  
*kiri-bat*, milk-rice, 81, 220.  
 Kirigda Kōraḷe (Four Kōraḷēs), 117.  
*kiri-itirima*, ceremony of boiling milk, 247.  
 Kirti Sri (reg. A.D. 1747-1782), 57, 58n, 73, 103, 105, 113, 136, 159, 188, 220n.  
 Kitulpe village, 76-77.  
*kitul gaha*, tree, 186.  
 Knox, Robert, 11n, 12n, 20n, 25, 26, 26n, 40n, 41, 41n, 42, 42n, 47n (quoted on *hēn*), 60-61 (quoted on land grants), 65n, 67 (proverb quoted), 73n, 78 (quoted on superstitions), 78n, 79 (quoted on agriculture), 79n, 80, 81 (quoted on types of rice), 81n, 82 (quoted on agriculture), 82n, 87n, 89 (quoted on measures), 89n, 90n, 91 (quoted on time), 91n, 92n, 95 (quoted on revenue farming), 95n, 97n, 107 (quoted on military strategy), 107n, 108 (quoted on passports), 108n, 109n, 110 (quoted on scarcity of money), 110n, 112, 112n, 113 (quoted on silver coin), 113n, 114, 114n, 115, 115n, 116n, 118, 124 (quoted on scarcity of mud-land), 124n, 144n, 154, 154n, 170 (quoted on Sinhalese temperament), 170n, 171n, 172, 172n, 173n, 174, 174n, 175-176 (quoted on potters and smiths), 175n, 176n, 177, 177n, 178 (quoted on hypergamy), 178n, 180 (quoted on jurisdiction of smiths), 180n, 181n, 184 (quoted on dress of washers), 184n, 186 (quoted on the *rodī*), 186n, 189 (quoted on slavery), 189n, 191 (list of castes), 195-196 (quoted on marriage), 195n, 200n, 204 (quoted on polyandry), 204n, 206 (quoted on (quoted on infanticide), 206n, 208n, 222, (quoted on incest), 222n, 225, 227, 228 (quoted on funeral ceremonies), 228n, 233n, 234, 234n, 235, 235n, 240n, 244n, 267-268.  
*koḍituvakkuwa*, Kandyan gun on tripod, ginjall, 23 (fired for *disāva*). Hence officers, *koḍituvakku-ḷēkam*, 135, 153 (privileges of), *koḍituvakku-mohottāla*, 24, *koḍituvakku-nīlamā* 71; personnel, 135.  
*maḍuwa*, shed for storing *disāva*'s ginjalls, 106.  
*koḍiya* (pl. *koḍi*), banner, flag, 54 (of *disāva*).  
*kohomba* (margosa), 81.  
*koku-nagula*, Kandyan plough, 79.  
*koku-ulu*, hooked tiles, 64.  
*koḷa*, shrubs, 49.  
*koḷa vaḍanavā*, tossing and mixing paddy, 82.  
*koṇḍe*, hair worn in knot, 176, 177.  
*koraha*, large pan, 198.  
*kōraḷa*, chief of territorial unit known as *kōraḷe*, 24-25, 71, 105, 107, 120, 134, 151, 152, 153 (judicial powers), 154, 155, 254 (DZ).  
*kōraḷe*, unit of administration, 24-25, 39, 101, 153, 154. *kōraḷe āccilā*, 21 (headman of *kaṭubulla*, q. v.), 26 (constable). *kōraḷēgam*, village, 24, 25. *kōraḷe minissu* or people, 25, 25n.  
*koṭahaluwa*, short-cloth worn by girl at first menses; *koṭahaluvē*, "he of the short-cloth," expression for washerman; 175, 226.  
*Koṭahalupota*, book on puberty-rites, 175n, 226n.  
*koṭaṭa ekatu karanavā*, heaping of sheafs on threshing floor, 82.  
*Kotmalē*, 19, 24, 41n, 121n.  
*koṭṭalabadda*, the artificer's department, 31 (chief of), 121, 153, 181, 183, 255.  
*koṭṭangalla*=*asvāddumpoṭa*, v. *poṭa*.  
*Kōṭṭe*, 3n, 12, 251. *Kōṭṭe* Period, 4n.  
*koṭuvēla*=*asvāddumpoṭa*, v. *poṭa*.  
*kōvīla*, temple dedicated to Hindu deities, 143.  
*kraal*, enclosure to capture elephants, 185.  
*kshatriya*, Indian caste of warriors, 9, 170.  
*kudā*, small (alt. *poḍi*). *kuḍāmmā*, *kuḍappā*, v. *ammā*, *appā*.  
*kudin*, v. *gamvāsiyō*.  
*kuḷkan maḍuwa*, royal kennel establishment, 101, 103.  
*kula*, caste, 252-253; *aḍu kula*, low castes; *kula siri*, customs and practices peculiar to a caste, 252; *kula vitti*, caste dispute, 250.  
*kula muhandiram vasama*, land holding, 117.  
*kulī*, hired labour, 247.  
*kulla*, winnowing-basket, 84.

- kumārīhāmi*, female title, form of address, 177.  
*kumbura* (pl. *kumburu*), paddy-swamp, 40, 49.  
*kūṇam maḍuwa*, royal palanquin establishment, 17 121, 153n (officials of); 171n (personnel of); 116 (service of).  
*Kundāsale*, alias Naredra Sippha, q. v.  
*kurahan* (alt. *kurakkan*), millet (eleusine coracana), 40n, 86, 91, 244.  
*kurulupātu*, a small strip of a field at the top and bottom of a range of fields given to the adjoining cultivator (invariably the *gama-rāḷa*, q. v.) as allowance for 'damage by birds,' 238, 238n.  
*Kurunagoda* (Four Kōraḷēs), 121.  
*kuruppiya*, measure of capacity and surface, 89, 90, 90n, 91, 154.  
*kūruva*, the elephant establishment, 185; *kūruwē ḷēkam*, headman of, 185; *kūruwē āttō*, personnel of, 24 (exempt from *disāva*'s jurisdiction), 24, 1777, 185, 191.  
*kuttā ḷēkam*, chief of persons who furnished oil-cakes, 32.  
 Lacombe, Jean de, 3n, 119-120 (quoted on palm-leaf writings), 120n.  
*lāha*, measure of capacity, 89, 90, 90n, 91.  
*Lak-vidhiya*, 119 (quoted on registers of land).  
*Lake*, Kandy, 3n, 44.  
*lama-etana*, female honorific, 177.  
*Laṃkā*, Ceylon, 9.  
*land*: alienation of, 59; compensation for improvements to, 44, 50n; confiscation by king, and compensation, 43n, 44, 50n; litigation over, 157; registers of, 20, 52, 59, 60, 66-67, 69, 102, 119-123; royal grants of, 44n, 57-59; symbolic transfer of, 57, 59, 59n, 148; tax on, 114; tenure of, 5, 5n, 43-45, 57.  
*landa*, high ground covered with low jungle, 47n.  
*Lanerolle*, Julius de, 15n, 43n, 48n, 108n, 119n.  
*larin*, a coin, 112.  
*law*, ignorance of, 154, 154n.  
*Lewis*, J. P., 78n.  
 96n, 103n, 104n, 110n, 220n, 145n, 150n, 156n, 159n, 163n, 189n, 190n, 266n.  
 Leach, E. R., 199n, 235n.  
*ḷēkama*, 16 (of treasury), 52, 53 (of royal stores), 96n, 151, 153 (privileges of), 154 (judicial powers of), 250, 251, 255, 256.  
*ḷēkam* department, 50, 103, 105; 15, 31 (chief of, *ḷēkam mahatmayā*); 14 (subordinate officer of, *ḷēkam muhandiram*); 121 (service of, *ḷēkam rājākāriya*).  
*ḷēkam miṭiya* (pl. *ḷēkam miṭi*), Land Rolls, cadastral registers, 15, 24, 52, 59, 60, 67, 96n, 102, 119-123, 121 (*disā ḷēkam miṭi*). v. also *hī ḷēkam miṭiya*, *kat-hāl ḷēkam miṭiya*.  
*ḷēli* (alt. *yehili*), daughter-in-law; niece.  
 Le Mesurier, C. J. R., 78n, 80n.  
*lē-nāyō*, blood relations [i.e., father, mother, (classificatory ?) brothers and sisters, their children, one's own children], 252.  
 Levke *valavva*, manor house of Levke family, 65.  
 Lewis, J. P., 78n.  
 Lewis, R. E., 78n, 79, 79n, 80n.  
*lineal* measures, 87-89.  
*lit-lakunu* (pl.), numeral-signs, 87 121n.  
*Littoral*, 3, 176, 183, 258.  
*liyādda*, bed, or division of paddy field, (pl. *liyāddi*), 45, 75, 246.  
*liyana āraci* (alt. *liyana rāla*, *liyana*), writer, clerk, scribe, 116, 155, 249n, 251, 255.  
*liyana vaḍuvā*, turner, wood-turner; branch of *navandannō* caste, 181.  
*loans*, 110-111.  
*local* descent group, 173, 173n.  
*local* government, 234.  
*ḷōkuruvō* (pl.), brass-founders, branch of *navandannō* caste, 182.  
 Lowie, R. H., 207n.  
*lūnu badda*, onion-department, 32 (chief of), 100.  
*maḍa bim*, mud-land, 48, 49.  
*māda-midula*, centre courtyard, 64.  
*madappurāḷa*, culinary assistant to king's caterer, 17.  
*madappurāḷa*, culinary assistant to king's caterer, 17.



- maḍigē*, the pack-bullock or transport department of the Kings of Kandy, 121, 176, 183-184; chiefs of, 118 (*vidāna*), 183 (*disāva*); personnel of, 2, 24 (sometimes exempt from *disāva*'s jurisdiction), 32, 100 (as quasi-caste).
- Mādin*, one of the Sinhalese months, 244.
- maḍinnō*, toddy-drawers, 173.
- maḍuva*, an open shed, 65, 236.
- maḍuva*, a military force reconstructed from the personnel of the royal kennels (*kukkan maḍuva*, q.v.), 96, 103, 107 (companies of), 104-105 (eight classes of), 181. *maḍuve lēkam*, commander of, 16, 103; *maḍuve rājakāriya*, service of, 104. *maḍuve* lands, 59, 97, 98n (extinction of title), 104. v. also *alut gamkāra pēruva*.
- magic (in paddy cultivation), 78, 78n.
- maḍul maḍuva*, ceremonial shed, esp. for weddings, 137, 198.
- maḍul pōruva*, platform on which bride and bridegroom stand whilst their fingers are tied, 199, 199n.
- maḥā*, the great harvest, season for paddy cultivation, 244.
- maḥā aramūdala*, the royal treasury, 58, 159 (trading with money from); *maḥā aramūdala vaṇṇaku nilamē*, king's grand treasurer, 16.
- Maḥā Dēvalē*, v. *Vishnu Dēvalē*.
- maḥā gabaḍāva*, v. *gabaḍāva*. *maḥā gabaḍā nilamē*, chief of royal store, 16.
- maḥā hātapenageyi muhandīram nilamē*, officer in charge of royal gentlemen-in-waiting (*appukāmis*) 15.
- maḥā hiragē*, the Great Jail, Kandy, 145, 153.
- maḥā koḍiya* (pl. *koḍi*), flag of *disāva*, 23.
- maḥā lēkama* (alt. *maha lēkam mahatmayā*), chief scribe, 14, 120, 120n. *pox*, 228.
- maḥā leḍa*, the Great Plague (small-pox), 228.
- maḥāmmā*, v. *ammā*.
- maḥā naḍuva*, the Great Court of Justice, 156, 157, 220, 233.
- maḥā nilamē*, the chief *adhikārama* or minister, 56, 227.
- maḥā nuvara*, the Great City (Kandy) 3n, 46.
- Mahasēn* (reg. c. A.D. 277), 43, 250.
- mahatmayā*, master, gentleman, Sir, 16.
- Mahavāli Ganga*, the Great River, 28.
- Mahāvamsa*, the Great Dynasty (Pāli chronicle of), 10n, 12, 43n, 58n, 73, 103n, 108n, 145n, 170n, 234n, 260n.
- Mahāvamsa Tika*, 9, 9n, 10n, 11n.
- maḥā vāsala*, lit. the Great Gate, fig. the palace, the king; 52, 150.
- mahavihāra* land, 43, 43n.
- Mahayāna Buddhism*, 4 (heresies of), 259.
- Mahayiyāva*, 3n.
- Mahinda IV* (reg. A.D. 975-991), 40n, 43n, 234.
- Maine*, Sir Henry, 143, 143n, 144n.
- Malabars*, 111, 111n; *Malabars* in army, 103n, 106, 107.
- Malays*, in army, 103n.
- malayā*, v. *malli*.
- mal-gaha*, flower plant (of gold) on *adhikārama*'s hat, 22.
- mal-pāla*, bunch of flowers planted by serf signifying his leaving the service of his lord, 63.
- māligāva*, v. *daḍadā māligāva*.
- Malinowski*, B., 169n.
- malli* (alt. *malayā*) younger brother, male parallel-cousin older than speaker, 214.
- maluva*, enclosure (of *dēvāle*), 75.
- Malvatta Vihāra*, 44, 73.
- māmā*, maternal uncle, father's sister's husband, father-in-law, 212, 215.
- manannā* (fr. *maninavā*, to measure), low-caste man employed to measure paddy, 26, 53, 76, 77, 114, 249n.
- manāva*, measure of capacity and weight, 89; of surface, 91.
- maṇḍa*=*maḍa*, q.v.
- Mandārapuva* Puvata, war-poem, 107, 107n, 108.
- mandemātirima*, charm to avert pest of flies, 247.
- maṇḍalla asta*, hymn of thanks and praise recited at end of *Perahāra*, q.v., 137.
- Manusmṛti*, 170, 170n.
- Māpitigam Kōrāla*, 205n.
- Marakkalayō*, Moors, 100n, 173n, 183, 249n.
- marāḷa*, 113, 113n, 114, 114n, 115n.
- Marambe*, A. J. W., 14n, 18n.

- Marshall*, Henry, 11n, 13n.
- māruvaliyē muhandīram nilamē*, chief of a class of gladiators, 16.
- māruvena*, temporary, changing (tenure of land) as opposed to *pravēni*, q.v. 53, n, 63. *māruvena paṇḍuva*, a temporary holding.
- māse*, a month; either *sūrya māse*, solar month, or *canda māse*, lunar month, (religious festivals were reckoned in former, secular dates according to the latter), 92.
- māssa*, platform, scaffold, 247.
- masa*=*masuran*, q.v.
- massinā*, male cross-cousin, brother-in-law, 214, 214n, 216.
- masuran*, an ancient gold coin (alt. *massa*), 163, 258.
- Mātālē*, 4, 19, 23, 59n, 60n, 99, 121, 135, 150, 150n, 172n, 184, 185, 241n.
- Mātālē Disāve Kaḍa-im Pota*, 59n.
- matrilineal societies, 221.
- mav*, mother, 214.
- māyīm*, boundaries, 244.
- Measures, Sinhalese, 87, 92.
- Mendis*, G. C., 170n.
- Mendis Gunasekera*, A., 87n.
- menēri*, 41, 84, 244.
- Menezes*, Joao Rodrigo de Saa, 108.
- menial services, 63, 67, 69, 98, 174, 186, 187.
- mercenaries, 12.
- mī-āttā*, great-grandmother, 212n.
- Migastānne Adhikārama*, 20, 104 (signature of), 156 (legal decision by), 156n, 173, 179.
- Mihintālē Vihāra*, 74.
- military resources, 107.
- military service, 106.
- militia, 25, 103-109, 134.
- Millava family, 58n.
- mī-muttā*, great-grandfather, 212n.
- minibiri*, grand-daughter, 215.
- miris*, chilly, 244.
- miṭa*, handful, 91.
- Mitford*, Lord, 63n (quoted on serfdom).
- Modder*, F., 87n, 89n, 91n.
- mohottāla*=*mohottirāla* (alt. *mohottiyar*), scribe, clerk, secretary, 25, 118, 120, 146; 152; 153, 154 (judicial powers of), 160, 250, 251.
- disāve mohottāla*, 23, 251, 255, 256, 257.
- mōlgaha*, pestle (for pounding rice etc.), 120, 120n, 226 (chalice).
- Moors* (Sinh. *marakkalayō*) 111, 111n; Moormen of *Maḍigē* Department, 32, 100, 183; Moormen in army 103; Kandyan Moors, 100n; Coast Moors (Sinh. *hanbankārayō*), 111n.
- Morgan*, Lewis H., 216n, 220n.
- Morris*, R., Government Agent, Kuru-nāgala, 254n.
- mortality, infant, 225n.
- mortgage (Sinh. *ukas*), 45, 110, 110n.
- mother-right, 221.
- mudali*=*mudiyansē*, class of people of *goyigama* caste, 64, 121, 172, 172n.
- muhandīrama*, title of rank, chief revenue officer of *kōrāla*, q.v., 31, 52 (of royal stores), 106 (of *maḍuve*), 182 (of silversmiths).
- Muhurtta Chintāmani*, 82n.
- mukha vāḍan baṇḍinavā*, to cover mouth with strip of white cloth to prevent pollution of food &c., 9, 16.
- mukkāla* (fr. Tam.), three-fourths (of a pingo), 114.
- Mukkuva* descent of certain Vanniyars of Demala Hatpattu, 253n.
- mūkulāna*, high forest, 47, 234, 244n.
- mulacāriyā*, master-craftsman, chief of *navandannō* caste, 152 (privilege of), 182, 183.
- mulgedara*, ancestral home, 42, 207, 211, 223, 224.
- mulkāṭē*, centre-point of circular clearing in jungle for *hēn* cultivation, 244.
- Mullegama Disāva*, 156n.
- Muller*, E., 74, 74n.
- mulpaṇḍuva*, original share of land, 42, 73, 97, 98n. *mulpaṇḍugārāya*, original or chief land-holder, 66n.
- mulpuṭuva*, chief seat, seat of chairman of assembly, 198.
- multāṅgē* (alt. *mulutāṅgē*), the King's kitchen (*multān*=food offered to god or king), 101, 116.
- mum*, green gram (*phaseolus mungo*, legum.), 86, 244.
- munuburā* (alt. *munupurā*), grandson, 215.
- mura*, watch, sentry, guard; turn of duty, 14, 65, 116. *murapala*, sentry-post, 16, 71. *murapēruva*, duty of watching fields, 239, 247. *mura ridi*, fee in lieu of guard-duty, 65, 101.
- murder*, 143 (collective fine for): 144.



*mutteṭṭuwa* (pl. *mutteṭṭu*), "A field which is sown on account of the king or other proprietor, temporary grantee, or chief of a village, as distinguished from the fields of the other inhabitants of the village who are liable to perform service or render dues." (D'Oyly), 25, 50, 53 (of royal villages), 54, 55, 56, 61n, 62n, 63, 71, 74-75 (of temple), 105, 117. *mutteṭṭu hēna*, 50n.

*mutṭi maṃgalaya*, pot-ceremony to god Aiyāna, 262.

*mutukudē*, umbrella (used in *perahāra*), 75.

Mylius, Baron, 261, 261n.

myths of origin, 169-170.

*nagā*=*naṃgi*, q.v.

*nākata*, asterism, auspicious time, 79, 81, 139, 172, 200. *nākati minissu*, polite term for drummer, 174.

*nākatrāḷa*, astrologer, 79. *nākatiya* (astrologer's) holding of land, 62.

*nākat vaṭṭōruwa*, document stating auspicious time (for celebration of festival), 139. *nākataṭa val allanavā*, taking possession of the jungle at an auspicious moment, 260.

*nalapaṭa*, old plate placed on forehead of king, 29.

*nāṭiya*, measure of capacity and surface, 89, 90n. *baṇḍāra nāṭiya*, the legal measure, 89, 90, 91.

*nama gama*, name and estate, 39n, 98.

*naṃgi* (alt. *nagā*), younger sister, female parallel cousin younger than speaker, 215.

*nānā*, female cousin, viz. father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter; wife's sister, 214, 216.

*nānayakkāra lēkam*, chief of the royal emissaries or spies, 18, 31, 136.

*nāndā*, aunt, i.e., father's sister, mother's brother's wife (alt. *nāndammā*) 212, 214n, 215, 216, 218.

*Nāramviṭa*, village in Uḍapalāta, 113.

*Nāramviṭa Mannalāgē* people, 113.

*Nāramviṭa Vihāra*, 74.

*Nāramviṭa water-course*, 121nn.

*Narendra Simha* (alias Kuṇḍasāle, reg. A.D. 1709-1739), 74, 144n.

*Nāta Dēvāle*, 29, 31 (*basnāyaka nīlamē* of), 44n, 75 (in *Pasgama*), 76n, 99, 135, 136, 139, 156n.

*nāṭun ilaṃgamē muhandiram nīlamē*, chief of the royal dancers, 17.

*navadili hēn*, young forest, 47, 244.

*Navagomuva village* (Rambukkana), 39.

*navandannā*, (pl. *navandannō*), caste of artificers (smiths &c.), 176, 181, 182.

*navātānhirē*, hospitality accorded to guests at one's house, 178n.

*Nayanāsara*, 217n.

*nayidē* (fr. Telugu), a title added to names of respectable persons among certain low castes, especially goldsmiths; "the five *nayidē* castes" were *ācari* (smiths), *baḍahāla* (potters), *karāva* (fishers), *maḍinnō* (toddy drawers), *marakkalayō* (Moormen), 173n, 182, 218n.

Nevill, Hugh, 78 (quoted on rice-growing), 78n, 81n, 82, 84, 176n, 197, 197n, 200n, 226n.

New Year=*alut avurudda*, q.v.

Nicholas, C. W., 234n, 258n.

*nikini*, one of the Sinhalese months, 249n.

*niḷagam*, temple villages, royal villages, and *nindagam* (q.v.), as opposed to *kōraḷagam*, 71n.

*niḷakāraya*, possessor of *niḷapaṃguva*, 25, 54, 55, 62, 63, 66, 66n, 67, 67n, 68, 69, 70, 71n, 98, 122.

*niḷamakkārayō* (alt. *paṭṭi*), caste of shepherds, 177n, 191.

*niḷamē*, high official, chief, 16.

*niḷapaṃguva* (fr. Tam. verb *niḷ*=stand, stop, remain, become fixed), "is the land possessed on condition of cultivating the *mutteṭṭu* (q.v.), or performing other menial service, or both, for the proprietor, grantee, or chief of the village. The possessor of such land is called *niḷakāraya*. In some instances he is the proprietor and cannot be displaced so long as he performs the service; in others, a tenant-at-will, and removeable at pleasure" (D'Oyly), 53, 54, 63, 66, 71, 73.

*nindagama* (fr. *ninda*, exclusive possession; *gama*, village), "A village which, for the time being, is the entire property of the grantee, or temporary chief; if definitely granted by the king, with *sannasa* (q.v.), it becomes *pravēni* (q.v.)" (D'Oyly), 25, 48, 50, 55, 60-70, 71, 71n, 72, 74, 119, 121, 122, 124, 190, 250, 251.

*ninda mutteṭṭuwa*, lord's portion of *nindagam* lands, 62, 66n.

*nirvāna*, the ultimate reward of a holy life, 166, 170.

Nissanka Malla (reg. A.D. 1187-1196), 9, 58n, 73, 112n, 115, 170n.

Niti-nighaṇḍuva, 9, 43n, 171n, 172n, 188, 188n, 190n, 197n, 202, 203n, 208n, 211, 218, 219n, 266, 266n.

*nītiya*, law, 143.

Nivitivala village, 62n.

*niyara*, ridges or banks of paddy fields, 79, 125n, 246.

North, Sir Frederick, Governor, 111 dispatch, on absence of commerce, quoted, 111n.

North Central Province, 173n, 235n, 236n, 241, 245n, 249, 258.

nucleated village (DZ), 236-240.

numerals, 53n.

Nuvarakalāviya District, 19, 23, 44, 47, 111, 150, 150n, 160, 233-262.

oaths v. *diviya*.

occupational differentiation as factor in caste system 171, 186-187.

office tenures, 71-72.

oil (Sinh. *tel*), 116, 121, 132, 139.

*ohoriya* (pl. *ohori*), part of women's cloth thrown over shoulder, 177, 182.

*ōla* (Tam.), palm-leaf, 164.

*olagama*, 39.

*oli*, caste of dancers, 136, 186, 191, 192.

ordeal, trial by, 160-163.

Oruvala Sannasa (A.D. 1546), 49.

*oru*, tithe; one-tenth of produce, 45, 45n, 56, 60n, 61n, 62n, 71, 74, 105, 124, 125, 243.

*oviṭa* (pl. *oviṭi*), meadows, 49.

ownerless land, 43, 43n.

*pā v. pāya*.

pack-bullocks, 84.

paddy, 40; 80, 80n (varieties of); 91; 111 (loans of); 114; 115; 139; 246.

paddy cultivation cycle, 78-85.

*paḍikārayā* (pl. *paḍikārayō*), one who receives wages, stipendiary, 105, 124. *paḍikāra nīlamē*, officer in charge of royal stipendiaries, 18, 31, 124. *paḍikāra pēruwa*, stipendiaries of *maḍuva*, 105. *paḍikāra, hēvāpannē*, 103.

*paduvā*, caste of palanquin-bearers (pl. *paduvō*), 24, 56, 105, 146, 176, 177, 178, 191, 192.

pagoda, Indian coin of gold, 112, 132, 164.

*pahatvāta v. vāta*.

*pāhidum*, uncooked provisions supplied to officer travelling on duty, 51, 72, 75, 182.

*pāla*, watch huts, 246.

*pāla*, a measure of capacity=10 *kurunī* (q.v.), 42, 89, 90, 91.

palace, 3n, 28, 58, 65, 99, 105, 132, 134, 157, 182-183 (gold and silver smiths attached to), 265. palace officials, hypertrophy of, 14.

*palam* (fr. Tam.), a weight=12 *kalaṇḍa* (q.v.), 89.

Palangomuvavatta, royal garden near Ruvanvalla, 120.

palanquin, 23 (of *disāva*), 27, 28, 56, 64, 68, 136 (in *perahāra*). palanquin-bearers, 121, 136, 138.

*palī*, revenge, retaliation, atonement; fine exacted from person denounced by suicide, 146.

Pāli, 4n; chronicles, 4, 9, 10, 17n, 204n.

*palī*, caste of washermen for castes below potters, 174, 184n, 186, 191, 192.

*paṭiha*, umbrella, 75.

*pāḷkārayā*, a sub-tenant. The *mul-paṃgukārayā* (original or chief tenant) frequently gets a person to settle on the lands of his *paṃguva* or holding in order to have a portion of the services due by him performed by the persons so brought in, called the *pāḷkārayā*, lit. cotter (*STC*), 66n.

*pallaru* caste, 191, 192.

*pallegampahē adhikāram mahatmayā*, name of chief minister, 20. *palle-gampahē* villages of *kaṭubulla* and *kasakāra* people, 21.

*palle vāhala gabaḍā nīlamē*, 16.

*palle vāhala ulpāṅgē*, Queen's Bath, 96.

palm-leaf documents, 58n, 119-120.

*paṃgukārayā*, holder of a *paṃguva* or share (this term is confined to *pravēni* holders) (pl. *paṃgukārayō*, 53, 54 (services of, in royal villages), 55, 66, 66n, 67n, 99, 122. *paṃgukārayā* (DZ) share-holder, 236, 238, 239, 240, 244, 245, 245n, 246, 247.

*paṃguva*, share of an estate (pl. *paṃgu*), 39, 53, 66, 239. (DZ) share of villager comprising his portion of the field, the tank, and the jungle, 239, 239n, 244, 246, 260.

*pamunugam*, "what is obtained or acquired," 96.



- Pānabokke Muhandiram Appu, *maḍuve āracci*, 105n.  
*paṇama*, a coin, 112, 166, 262.  
*pandam*, torch, 68; *pandamkārayā*, torch-bearer, 75n, 152 (privileges of).  
*paṇḍuru mila*, money-offering or fee, 72, 117, 117n, 184.  
*paṇivida*, message, errand, 52. *paṇivida-kārayō* (pl.), messengers commanded by a *paṇivida karuna nilame*, 14.  
*pannayā*, caste of grass-cutters (pl. *pannayō*), 185, 186, 187 (*gahala gambadayō* sub-caste), 191, 192, 202, 250.  
*pannikalē*, people of elephant department (*kūrūvē*) who assisted in driving elephants into *kraal*, 185.  
*pansala*, 73.  
*Parākrama Bāhu the Great* (reg. A.D. 1153-1186), 12, 103n, 241, 244n, 258, 259.  
*Parākrama Bāhu II* (reg. A.D. 1234-1269), 57.  
*Parākrama Samudra*, "the Sea of Parākrama," 242.  
*parallel cousin*, 215, 220, 224.  
*paraṃgi*, a chronic disease endemic in Ceylon, similar to yaws, 261, 261n.  
*paranagamkāra pēruva*, original landed class of *maḍuve* contingent, 104.  
*Paranavitana*, S., 4n, 5n, 11n, 57n, 74n, 221n, 234n, 259n.  
*paravēni*=*pravēni*, q.v.  
*Park*, J. H. W., 260n.  
*Park*, R. E., 178n.  
*Parker*, H., 3n, 173n, 196n, 199n, 206n, 242.  
*paskulu-baḍu*, collection of five spices; *paskulu baḍu malla*, bag for these, 197.  
*passports issued in wartime*, 108.  
*pasture*, 42.  
*pata*=*hunduva*, q.v.  
*paṭabāndā*, the principal hereditary tenants in royal villages; holders of *gamvasam* villages in Sabaragamuva (pl. *paṭabāndō*), 69; *paṭū bandi* lands, 62, 71.  
*paṭabāndi* (lit. frontlet-tied) names, 172, 173.  
*Pāta Bulatgama*, 24.  
*paterfamilias*, 222, 223, 224.  
*patriarchal systems*, 224, 229n.  
*patrilineage*, 219.  
*patrilineal systems*, 218, 219.  
*patrilocal marriage*, v. *dīga*.
- paṭṭal hatarē*, four workshops of smiths attached to palace, 182-183.  
*paṭṭi*, wife, 216n.  
*paṭṭi* people, shepherds, milk and buttermen, 17, 32, 121, 191.  
*Pattini*, a deity, 74. *Pattini Dēvāle*, 31, 76n, 135, 136, 161n, 162.  
*pattirippuva*, palace, dais; octogan of the Temple of the Tooth, 28.  
*pattisāna*, javelin, 54.  
*pattuva* (pl. *pattu*), division of a *kōraḷē* (q.v.), unit of administration, 25, 72, 250.  
*Paulus*, J. H. O., 12n.  
*pāvāda*, white cloth spread on the ground by washerman for distinguished persons to walk on, 255.  
*pāvāda massa*, coin dropped on cloth at weddings, 198.  
*pavula*, family, 216.  
*pāya*, the Sinhalese "hour" = 24 minutes (pl. *pā*), 79, 82, 92.  
*payindakārayō* (abbr. of *paṇivida-kārayō*), lit. "maker of errands," messenger, 51, 52, 123.  
*pēdigē*, washerman's title, 177, 184n.  
*pediyō*, washermen, 184.  
*penicillin*, 261n.  
*penuma*, lit. "appearance"; present or gift to superior, 68, 117.  
*Pēraḍeniya*, 20, 46, 51n. *Pēraḍeniya* royal gardens, 124.  
*perahāra*, procession, pageant, the most important of which is the Kandy Āsala Perahāra, 65, 75, 75n, 102, 120n, 135-138, 139, 250n.  
*peralapota*=*hārenapota*, q.v.  
*Percival*, R., 11n.  
*Perera*, L. S., 41n, 43n, 57n, 87n, 258n.  
*Perera*, Rev. S. G., 66n.  
*personal names*, 173.  
*Pertold*, Otaker, 5n, 78n, 80n, 227n.  
*petta*, internode of plant, 80.  
*Phear*, Sir J. B., 53, 54n, 115n, 236n, 241n.  
*philotes* (Aristotle), 221.  
*pidavilla*, land dedicated by individuals to temples; private endowment, 73. Hence *pidavilla paṃguva*, 122.  
*Pieris*, P. E. & Fitzler, M. A. H., 108n, 114n.  
*Pieris*, Ralph, 45n, 57n, 59n, 98n, 100n, 110n, 161n, 180n, 222n, 224n, 227n.  
*pihanarāḷa*, assistants at king's table, 17.

- Piḷima Talavve*, Adhikārama, 22, 50, 96, 101, 103, 105n, 106, 194, 173.  
*Piḷima Talavve family*, 29.  
*piḷima vahanse*, statute, image, 73n.  
*pilluma* (alt. *pillumak-dura*), a measure of distance, approximately a mile, 87n.  
*pinḱama*, an almsgiving, 224, 229.  
*pingo* (Sinh. *kada*), a load suspended from the two ends of a pliant pole about five feet in length, carried on the shoulder, 68, 114, 121, 161.  
*pissu vāṭṭica*, possessed, mad, 146.  
*poṭa viyaduma vidāna*, collector of government dues for the storehouse, 52-53.  
*Pitt-Rivers*, G. H. L. F., 207n.  
*piyā*, father, 212n.  
*piyanda karana nilamē*, officer who prepared betel for the king, 17.  
*piyara* (abbr. of *piyavara*), footprint, 91.  
*planetary ceremonies* (*balī*), 174, 227.  
*Pliny*, 11n.  
*plough*=*kokunagula*, q.v.  
*poḍissī*, little girl, woman of lowest condition, 177.  
*podu*, communal, "common," 245, 246.  
*Pohath-Kehelpannala*, T. B., 17n.  
*poli*, interest on capital, 110-111.  
*police of Kandy*, 17, 25.  
*Pollock and Maitland*, 160n.  
*Polonnaruva*, 3, 258.  
*polyandry*, 98n, 204n, 205, 205n, 207-211, 218n, 220, 223.  
*polygyny*, 204n.  
*population*; (1820), 206; decline of, 258-260.  
*porōkārayō*, woodcutters, 171n.  
*Portuguese*, 3, 3n (intermarriage with Sinhalese), 107, 109. Portuguese Kingdom (of Kōṭṭe), 114n. Portuguese Period, 204. Portuguese Wars, 105, 106, 107, 111n.  
*porunakāra muhandiram*, chief of woodcutters, 32.  
*poṭa* (alt. *vela*) (DZ), a tract of a field, divided into *mulpoṭa* (alt. *purānapoṭa*, *upayāpoṭa*), *hārenapota* (alt. *geṇāpoṭa*, *peralapota*), *asvāddum-poṭa* (alt. *koṭṭuvela*, *koṭṭangala*, *ahut-asvādduma*), 238, 238n.  
*potter* (Sinh. *baḍahālayā*), 60, 64, 99, 100, 136 (role in *perahāra*), 173n, 174, 176, 184 (potter's department), 185, 186, 191, 192, 255.  
*pōya maluwa*, enclosure for religious observances, 44n.
- pradakshiṇa*, reverential salutation, 84.  
*prānaya*, breath, 227n.  
*pravēni*, (alt. *paravēni*), hereditary, patrimonial (property), 44, 53, 53n, 55, 57n (*maḍuva lands*), 58, 63, 66, 69, 70, 96, 98n, 99, 104, 202, 224.  
*pravēni nilakārayā*, holder of a hereditary *paṃguva* or share in a *nindagama* (q.v.), who could not be displaced by the proprietor so long as he performed the service in consideration of which he held the land, 54. *pravēni nindagama*, grant of estate as hereditary property, 50.  
*precious stones*, right of crown to, 113.  
*presents from chiefs to king*, 113.  
*Pridham*, Charles, 150n.  
*principal and surety*, 148.  
*prisoners of war*, treatment of, 109.  
*procedure, judicial*, 158-163.  
*"proprietor"*, 62n.  
*proverbs*, 95, 176n, 219-220, 223, 225.  
*provincial autonomy*, 233-235.  
*Ptolemy's map of Ceylon*, 258.  
*puberty rites*, 226.  
*public opinion*, 146.  
*Pūjāvaliya*, 78n, 80n.  
*Puleyar*, a deity, 244.  
*punishments*, 144-145.  
*pura*, city, town, 258.  
*purānapota*=*mulpoṭa*, v. *poṭa*.  
*purappādu*, land vacant or without an owner through failure of heirs, abandonment, or forfeiture, 43, 45, 52, 96, 104, 105, 116. *parappāduvasam*, vacant lands, 98.  
*puruka*=*gāṭa*, q.v.  
*purushayā*, male, husband, 216.  
*putā* (alt. *putrayā*), son, man's brother's son, woman's sister's son, 215.  
*Pyrard*, F., 108n.
- Queyroz*, Fernao de, 107, 107n, 108n, 109n, 177n.
- radala*, pertaining to chiefs or nobles, aristocratic. *radalavaru*, *radalakam-pēruva*, the aristocracy or ruling-class, 172, 172n, 249n.  
*radavā*, washerman, man of that caste, 100, 174, 191. *radavā badda*, washer's department, 31, 184-185.



Radeliffe-Brown, A. R., 145n, 146n, 215n, 219n, 221n, 222n.  
*radōlan*, royal officers (10th. century), 172n.  
*rāhiya*, heap of corn on threshing floor, 84.  
*rahu badda*, a group of families, constituting a department, who danced at festivals, 100.  
*raja* (royal) caste, 171n.  
*rāja-dhāniya*, capital city, 4.  
*Rājādhirājasiṃha*, (reg., A.D. 1782-1798), 96, 105, 250n.  
*rājakāriya*, lit. king's duty, extended to any service to the king, a lord, or a temple, 44, 45, 46, 59, 61, 73, 74, 75, 75n, 95-102, 116, 119n, 122, 124, 181n, 207.  
*Rājarāja I* (reg., A.D. 987-1012), 112n.  
*Rajaratnakārāya*, 11n.  
*rājasantaka*, (land) belonging to the crown, 44, 46, 47, 73n.  
*Rājasimha II* (reg., A.D. 1629-1697), 4 (fratricide), 11, 12, 15 (rebellion against), 19, 23n, 103, 107, 116, 222.  
*Rājāvaliya*, 3n, 10n, 204, 205n, 259n.  
*rākavala*, (pl. *rākavala*), guard at prison, 21.  
*Rambukpota Disāva*, 47, 243n.  
*Ramon-y-cajal*, Santiago, 5, 5n.  
*ranāyudha madhva*, the Golden Arms House in the palace in charge of *ayudhagē varṇaku nilamē*, 15.  
*randōli*, golden palanquin carried in *perahāra* procession, 75n, 136, 137.  
*ranhivige* (alt. *ransivigē*), palanquin ornamented in gold, 135, 138.  
*ran kiri*, "gold milk," milk rubbed with a gold ring, fed to infant, 226.  
*ran tambili*, king-cocanut, 81.  
*Rāsanayagam*, Mudaliyar C., 4n.  
*raṭa*, district, province, 23, 24, 28, 121. *raṭa aracci vasam* in Uḍapalāta, 121n, *raṭa kōraḷē gam*, type of village, 71n. *raṭa sabhāva*, district council or assembly of principal citizens, 150, 251, 253, 254-257.  
*raṭa karanavā=disāva mohoṭṭāla*, q.v. *raṭa vasam*, lands subject to a *raṭē mahatmayā* (q.v.), 15, 121.  
*raṭē āttō* (alt. *raṭē minissu*), persons of the *goyigama* or farmer caste, 24, 69, 71, 100n, 171, 172, 172n, 180, 185, 250n.  
*raṭē mahatmayā* (alt. *raṭē rāḷa*), chief of *raṭa*, 23, 24 (powers of), 24n, 154 (judicial powers of).

*raṭē mohoṭṭāla*, secretary and representative of *disāva* (q.v.), 106.  
*rathavasika senava*, "the army dwelling in the country" (*Mhv.*), 103n.  
*Ratvatte Disāva*, 106, 148.  
*rebellions*, 12, 12n, 13, 13n, 127, 233n.  
*Reimers, E.*, 173n.  
*rent*, 124.  
*Report of the Archaeological Survey*, 4n.  
*revenue*, 110-118; *revenue farming*, 116-118.  
*Rhys Davids, T. W.*, 48, 48n, 87n, 89n, 236n, 239n, 243n, 261n, 267, 268 (quoted on Knox), 268n.  
*Ribeiro, Joao*, 108n, 204n, 205 (quoted on polyandry).  
*rice*, 41, 113, 114, 115, 116, 121, 185, 186, 197.  
*ridi*, a silver coin, 112, 112n, 113, 113n, 151, 154, 256n.  
*rikta*, unlucky time, 84.  
*Rivers, W. H. R.*, 207, 207n, 221, 229n.  
*riyana*, cubit, about 18 inches; *vaḍu riyana*, carpenter's measure, 89.  
*rix-dollars*, Dutch currency, 132, 133n.  
*robbery*, 145, 149.  
*roḍiyā*, outcaste, having their own headmen (*hūlavāliya*), 64, 176, 177, 186, 191, 204; 222n; degradation of criminal to rank of *roḍiya*, 145, 256.  
*royal bath* (Sinh. *ulpāṅgē*), 121.  
*royal gardens*, 113, 120 (at Ruvanvālla), 124 (at Pēradēniya).  
*royal store* (Sinh. *gabaḍāva*), 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 249n.  
*royal villages* (Sinh. *gabaḍāgam*, q.v.). Ruvanvālla, 120, 183.  
*Saar, Johann Jacob*, 204n.  
*Sabaragamuva*, 13, 19, 22, 23, 23n, 15, 33-36 (inferior officers in), 48n, 50 (royal villages in), 51, 56, 60, 60n, 66n, 96, 105, 106, 113, 125, 127, 135, 161, 220 (marriage customs in), 206n.  
*Sabaragamuva Dēvāle*, 129.  
*Sabaragamuva hī lēkam miṭiya*, 121.  
*sabhā*, tribunal, assembly, 255, 256.  
*sabhā maṇḍapē*, place where a district council (*raṭa sabhāva*) is convened, usually a *madhva* or shed prepared by laying white cloths; a council chamber, 255.  
*Saddharmaratnāvaliya*, 78n.

*sahōdarayā* (fem. *sahōdarī*), lit. one of the same womb. used also for classificatory brother or sister, 214.  
*śaka*, a term applied to a king from the beginning of whose reign the years are reckoned; *śaka varshaya* is the era reckoned from the reign of a South Indian prince Śālivānana, commencing in the 79th. year of the Christian Era and to be converted to the latter by adding 78 years, 49n, 92.  
*sākki balanda*, court of inquiry, 151.  
*salāgama=halāgama*, q.v.  
*salliya* (fr. Tam., pl. *salli*), a coin, 112, 113n.  
*salt*, 121, 176, 183.  
*Samaranayaka, G.*, 87n, 92n.  
*saṃgha*, the associated brotherhood of Buddhist monks, 4, 259.  
*Saṅgarājarata*, 114.  
*saṅghika*, land dedicated to priesthood, 74.  
*sankranta*, unfavourable planetary constellation, 246.  
*sannasa* (pl. *sannas*), a royal grant, usually inscribed on copper plate, 49, 49n, 58, 58n, 104, 253n.  
*sanniya*, illness, 227.  
*Sanskrit*, 87.  
*sārāmāru*, temporary or changing tenure of land, 50, 63, 96, 116.  
*Satapatha Brahmana*, 11n.  
*Satara Kōraḷē Mahā Lēkam Miṭiya*, 114n, 121, 184n.  
*satiya*, week, 92.  
*saṭṭambi*, monitor (officer of the royal bath &c.), 14, 96, 152 (privileges of).  
*Sawers, Simon*, Judicial Commissioner, 62n, 68, 68n, 69, 69n, 149n, 190 (quoted on slavery), 190n, 198 (quoted on cross-cousin marriage), 198n, 203 (quoted on consent for marriage), 216n, 223n, 265, 266, 266n.  
*Schweitzer, C.*, 3n.  
*Seligman, C. G.*, 259n.  
*Seligman C. G. & B. Z.*, 214n, 252n.  
*Selkirk, James*, 78n.  
*Sēnerat* (reg. A.D. 1829-1687), 4.  
*Sēna Sammata Vikrama Bāhu*, 233.  
*Senhadhagala*, capital of the kingdom, 3n.  
*sepoys in army*, 103.  
*sequestration of crops*, 158.  
*sēruva* (fr. Tam.), a measure of capacity, 89.  
*service* (Sinh. *rājakāriya*), 44, 61, 61n, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 70, 73, 95, 98n, 116, 122.

*service lands*, 14, 68, 69, 70, 95, 97, 110, 112, 121, 125, 183.  
*sēsath*, banner, 66.  
*Seven Kōraḷēs* (Sinh. *sat kōraḷē*), 19, 22, 23, 47, 52, 60n, 99, 107, 111, 115, 125, 161, 196, 225n, 234, 235, 249n, 250, 250n.  
*sex ratio*, 206.  
*Shahidullah, M.*, 5n.  
*Shakespeare, W.*, 118n.  
*Sharpe, W. E. T.*, 53n, 54, 54n, 66, 66n.  
*Siamese priests*, 136.  
*Sidat-saṅgarāva*, classical grammar, 4.  
*Siddhartha, Rev. Rambukvālla*, 5n.  
*Sīgiriya*, 243n.  
*silver coin*, 113.  
*siṃhakkāra muhandīram nilamē*, chief of the drummers, 188. *siṃhakkārayō*, drummers, 117.  
*siṃhala saṃge*, Sinhalese rebellion, 13, 233n.  
*Siṃhala Sirit Sangarāva (SSS)*, 61n, 125n, 236n, 238n, 240n, 243n, 244n, 246n, 247n, 248n, 249n, 251n, 252n, 253n, 254n, 255n, 257n.  
*Sinhalese*, low country, 3n.  
*Sinhalese in army*, 103, 107.  
*Sinhalese language*, 5n.  
*sittaru*, painters, sub-division of *navandannō* caste, 182.  
*siṭṭuva*, document, order written on palm-leaf (pl. *siṭṭu*), 19, 22, 24, 51n, 58n, 104, 154, 155, 157 (signed by *adhikārama*), 161, 250. *divi siṭṭuva*, an order for swearing, 19, 22, 152, 153, 154, 250.  
*Sjoberg, Gideon*, 225n.  
*slavery*, 52, 68, 74 (in temple villages), 144, 188-190, 202 (right of slaves to inherit).  
*small-pox* (Sinh. *maha leḍa*), 228.  
*smiths*, 15, 60, 64, 65, 85, 173n, 180, 181-183, 184n, 191, 192.  
*social contract theory* (of origin of caste), 169n.  
*solider's lands*, exempt from pingo-duty if killed in service, 114; *solider's uniforms*, 106-107.  
*socery*, 159n, (v. also *hūniyam*).  
*soul*, conception of, in Sinhalese religion, 193, 193n.  
*Spengler, Oswald*, 10n.  
*Srī, King's seal*, 58, 58n.  
*Srī Rāhula, v. Kāvryshēkharaya*.  
*Srī Vikrama Rājasimha* (reg., A.D. 1798-1815), 3, 105n, 118, 190.



*strī*, woman; wife (colloq. *hānnāhē*, Knox's vocab.), 216.  
*stūpa*, tope, 258.  
*stuvier*, Dutch coin (Sinh. *tuṭṭu*), 112.  
*Subhā*, 43.  
*subha vēlāvaṭa val allanavā*, taking possession of the jungle at the auspicious moment, 244.  
*succession*, 222.  
*sudaliyē muhandiram nilamē*, chief of a class of gladiators, 16.  
*sūdra*, 170, 171.  
*sudu harak paṇṭiyē muhandiram*, chief of white cattle, 32.  
*suicide*, 143, 146, 151.  
*sumgam*, ancient tax levied on all cultivated lands, except *radala* lands, 249n.  
*surface (area)*, measures of, 90-91.  
*Sūriyavamsa Nuvaravāva family*, 250.  
*svapnaya*, dream, omen, 260.  
*Svarna Kalyāna Vīdiya*, street in capital of Kandy, 19.  
*tahanama*, prohibition, interdiction, ban; denial to person of privileges in dealing with members of his kin-group (*variga*), 253. *tahanam denavā*, to ban; *tahanam arinavā*, to remove ban, 253; *tahanam vaṭṭiya*, "prohibition tray" used by seeking removal of ban, 257.  
*tahansi kālē*, prohibited forest, 48.  
*tailors*, 184n.  
*tala*, sesame. *tala-āṭa*, sesame seed used as weight, 89, 90, 244.  
*talapata*, palm-leaf, 69, 108, 204.  
*talapat vaḍannakārayā*, bearer of king's palm-leaf sunshade, 59, 97 (land held by), 100, 152 (privileges of).  
*Talgomuvē village (Four Kōraḷēs)*, 66n.  
*Tamankaḍuva*, 19, 23, 44, 249, 250n.  
*tambōru purampettukārayō*, drummers and trumpeters, 121.  
*tambōru purampettukāra muhandiram nilamē*, chief of royal drummers and trumpeters, 18.  
*taṃgama*, a coin, 112.  
*Tamils*, 3, 4, 57, 258. Tamil script, 4, 4n.  
*Tamil Vanni District*, 251.  
*tampalā*, vegetable (nothoserua brachiata. Amarant.), 86.  
*tamuse*, *tamusēla*, *tamunnāhē*, *tamunnānsē*, second person pronoun 177, 177n.

*tānāyama*, a resting-place or halting stage used by *disāvas* when on circuit, 23, 26.  
*tanks*, 3, 47, 234, 236, 238, 239, 241-244, 245, 246, 251, 260, 261.  
*tāttā=appā*, q.v.  
*taṭṭumāru*, land cultivated by co-parceners (*taṭṭumāru paṃgukarayaō*) in turns. Thus, if a field belongs to three joint-owners, each cultivates the whole every third year, 53-54, 224.  
*tavalama*, caravan, a team of pack-bullocks, 47, 249n.  
*tāvalu*, tank bed, 240.  
*telkāra muhandirama*, chief of people who prepared oil for temples and royal villages, 52.  
*temples*, 22, 28; land registers of, 119; land conferred on, 44n, 58n; lands dedicated to, 57n, 71, 73-77, 124, 186; abandoned temples, 73; principals of, 24, 154 (judicial powers); temple villages, 25, 121, 249n.  
*Temple of the Tooth, Kandy*, v. *daladā māligāva*.  
*Temple Lands Commission (TLC)*, 120.  
*tenants*, 55, 61, 62, 62n, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 69n, 73n, 74, 75 (in *dēvāles*).  
*Tennent, Sir J. E.*, 268.  
*Thomas, E. J.*, 216n.  
*Three Kōraḷēs (Tun Kōraḷē)*, 13n, 19, 46n, 60n, 106, 113, 120.  
*Tillakaratna Mohoṭṭi, R. K.*, of *Kaḥaṭagasdigiliya*, 251n, 255n.  
*timba*, a measure of capacity=4 *kuruni* (q.v.), and larger than a *lāha* (q.v.), 89, 91.  
*time*, 91-92.  
*Tisāvāva tank*, 242.  
*tiyaṃbara*, a measure of capacity, 86.  
*tō*, you, 177.  
*Todas*, Indian tribe, 206, 207.  
*toddy drawers*, 173n, 184n.  
*Tombo*, Portuguese, of Two Kōraḷēs, 66n.  
*topi*, you, 177.  
*torana*, ornamental arch, 134, 255.  
*torture*, 147, 251, 257, 257n.  
*treason*, 144.  
*treasury*, v. *maha aramudala*.  
*Trincomali (Sinh. Tirukunāmalē)*, 107.  
*tudapata*, lit. "mouth-leaf," 58, 269.  
*tulāna*, administrative division, N. C. P., 254, 255n.  
*Tumpanē*, 19, 24, 31, 107n.  
*Turner, L. J. B.*, 266n.

*Turnour, George*, 60n, 61n, 62n, 67, 67n, 74n, 75n, 78n, 115n, 117 (quoted on service tenures), 117n, 118n, 124n, 206n, 267.  
*tuṭṭuwa* (pl. *tuṭṭu*), unit of currency=¼ of a *paṇama* (q.v.), 112.  
*Uda Bulatgama*, 24.  
*uḍagabaḍā nilamē*, chief of the king's private store, 16.  
*Udagampahē adhikārama*, 21.  
*uḍalla*, hoe, mamotie, 79, 81, 85.  
*Uḍapalāta*, 19, 23, 107n, 113, 121n, 135.  
*Uḍapola Kōraḷē*, 106.  
*uḍa raṭa*, the highland kingdom, 40, 51, 51n, 56, 57, 71, 99, 107, 150n, 152, 154, 184, 204, 233, 234, 241n, 245, 249, 252n, 254.  
*Uḍavattakālē*, 3n, 44, 46.  
*Udaya III* (reg. c. A.D. 942-952), 234.  
*Uḍunuvara*, 19, 24, 31, 107n, 114.  
*uḍuvīyan baṇḍinavā*, to hang canopy of white cloth for reception of distinguished persons, 255.  
*ukas*, pledge, pawn; mortgage, q.v.  
*ulasu*, hereditary lands held by low caste persons in consideration of service (DZ), 251.  
*ūḷiyakkārayā*, one who performs menial service (*ūḷiyam*), especially palanquin-bearer, 88.  
*ūḷiyam*, (Tam.), service due to superior, menial service, 100n, 111.  
*ūḷiyam lands*, 121.  
*uḷpāṅgē*, the King's Bath, 14, 76, 116, 121.  
*umba* (alt. *numba*, *oba*), *umbala*, you, 177, 177n.  
*uṇḍiṭṭā*, collector of royal revenues [fr. *uṇḍiṭṭa*, lump (Knox)], 26, 155, 251, 255.  
*upayāpota=mulpoṭa*, v. *poṭa*.  
*usatabedima* (alt. *kālbedima*), division of strip of field lengthwise among heirs, 239.  
*uterine nephew*, 220.  
*Ūva*, 4, 19, 23, 23n, 47, 55 (royal villages), 60n, 99, 101, 107, 135, 184, 206, 206n, 234, 243n.  
*vāḍakārayō*, servants, 54.  
*vaḍanā talapata*, ornamented palm-leaf; umbrella used by king when travelling, 54.  
*vaḍāra* (or *vadāla*) *panatin sīṭṭuwa*, a document issued by order of the king or a chief, 58.

*vāḍavasam*, "holdings for work," service-tenures, 96n.  
*Vāddā*, archer; one of the Vāddā tribe of hunters, supposed to be the aborigines of Ceylon (Pāli: *vyādhas*), 181, 181n, 191, 214n, 222n, 252n.  
*vaduna tuvaḍḍukūra lēkam*, chief of gunners, 31.  
*vaḍuvā* (pl. *vaḍuvō*), carpenter, subdivision of *navandannō* caste, 181, 182.  
*vagala*, path set aside for leading buffaloes into field, 246.  
*vāhala ilaṃgamē muhandiram nilamē*, royal magicians and acrobats, 18, 121. (washers for), 132.  
*vāhala kada vājakāriya*, pingo-dues paid to the king, 117.  
*vahumpurē* caste (v. also *hakuru*), 64, 77, 177.  
*vāsiya*, 170, 191.  
*Vaitulyan heresy*, 43n.  
*vak*, one of the [Sinhalese months], 244.  
*vakkada* (pl. *vakkadaval*), opening or outlet of dam in paddy field, 79.  
*Vakoya*, 59, 59n.  
*val* (alt. *kālē*), 48n.  
*Valapanē*, 19, 23, 51n, 107n, 135, 185, 206n.  
*valavva*, manor-house, dwelling of chief, 15, 20, 64-65, 67, 68, 69, 101, 106, 220n. *disāva's valavva* as court-house, 153. *Ratvatte valavva*, 148. *Vattegama valavva*, 188, 190. *valavva kada*, 72, 95n, 117. *valavva lēkam miṭṭiya*, 119. *valavva mohoṭṭala*, private secretary of *disāva*, 24, 106.  
*Valentia, Lord*, 3n.  
*Vāliṭṭa Copper Plate (A.D. 1789)*, 49.  
*Vallipuram*, 58n.  
*valli yakun*, demon ceremony, 137.  
*vana-kanda ekatukaranavā*, arranging sheafs of paddy in semi-circle on threshing-floor, 82.  
*vanata*, clearing in jungle on either side of paddy field, 238, 243.  
*vandiya*, recompense, indemnity, reparation (fr. Tam, "that which comes thorough external compulsion," 144.  
*vannaku nilamē* of Arm's House, 31; of *maha dēvāle*, 74n; of treasury, 159.  
*Vanniyar*, ruler of Northern provinces (alt. *vannī ummāhē*, *vanni*



*bandāra, vanni rajavaru*, 153, 160 (authority to allow oaths), 235, 244, 249, 249n, 250, 250n, 251, 251n, 254, 255, 256, 257.  
*vāradi*, incorrect, 218.  
*variga* (fr. *varga*), "kind;" an affinal, endogamous kin-group, 252-253. *variga sabhā*, caste court, 256n, 255.  
 Variyagam Nilamē, 60.  
*varupalla*, the paddy remaining at the bottom (*palla*) of the heap (*varuva*) gathered after threshing and given to the cultivator. The heap itself is taken by the proprietor of the land [Modder, in Ferguson, 1896], 82, 85.  
*vasagama*, family name, 172.  
*vasama*, land held in consideration of office or service; department, 39, 39n, 52, 106.  
*vāta*, hedge, fence; *ālapatvāta*, fences at top and bottom of a field built by the headman: *ihatvāta*, *pahatvāta*, fences at top and bottom of shareholder's portion of field; 239, 246. *vāta kaḍanavā*, to break down fences enclosing a field, 81.  
*vatta* (pl. *vatu*), 41, 49, 236.  
*vaṭṭaka*, pumpkin (curcubita mo-chata), 86.  
 Vattegama *valavva*, 188, 190.  
*vattiru-rāla*, of *māligāva*, 153 (privileges of).  
*vaṭṭōruva*, list, catalogue, inventory (pl. *vaṭṭōru*), 24, 51n, 154.  
*vatukārayā*, pl. *vatukārayō*, possessors of gardens, who pay a certain portion of the produce yearly to the proprietor and are generally liable to be called on to assist the proprietor being paid by him or fed for their labour (D'Oyly), 69.  
*vatura baṇḍinavā*, to stop flow of water, 79, 247.  
 Vaux, W. S. W., 113n.  
*vāva*, lake, "tank," 243.  
 Vavūniya, 238n.  
*vedarāla*, physician, 227.  
*vedibēt maḍuva*, gunpowder magazine, 106.  
*vedikkāra lēkam*, chief of artillery-men, 18, 31.  
*velaṇḍa*, merchant caste, 171n.  
*velāṇa*, hour, time, 91.

*vē*, paddy, rice in the husk; *vē-āta*, seed of paddy used as measure, 89; *āl-vē*, hill-paddy, 40, 86. *vē-budda*, paddy tax, 115.  
*vidāna*, village official with constabulary duties, 25, 52, 53, 55, 56, 68, 76, 77, 118, 121, 151, 155 (judicial powers of), 177, 182, 184 (*vidāna* of *maḍigē*), 185, 249. *vidāna durayā*, chief of *padu* caste, 177. *vidāna hēnayā*, chief of washermen, 177, 184. *vidānagam*, villages controlled by *vidāna*, 25, 56, 117, 121, 132.  
 Vellassa, 19, 23, 70, 161.  
 Vellassa Disāva of, 58n. His account of the *perahāra*, quoted, 135-138.  
*vihāra*, a Buddhist temple, 73, 228, 229. *vihāra* people, 24. *vihāra* villages, 74, 74n.  
 Vijaya, Prince, 5n.  
 Vijayabāhu I (reg., A.D. 1056-1111), 4, 57, 112.  
 village (Sinh. *gama*), 39, 47, 64. village headman (Sinh. *gamarāla*, q.v.).  
*villī-durayī*, class of *pannayā* caste persons in the N.C.P., 191, 250.  
 Vimala Dharma Sūrya I (reg., A.D. 1591-1604), 11, 108.  
*vinaya*, religious obedience, 74.  
 Vishnu, a god, 49, 74. Maha Vishnu Dēvāle, Kandy, 29, 74n, 75, 76n, 107, 117n, 122, 135, 136, 161n; *basnāyake nilamē* of, 31.  
 Vitaranagē family, 75.  
*vitaramnā vidāna*, officer in charge of women employed in royal store, 52.  
 Vitti-pot, Books of Incidents, 39, 269.  
 Vittipatraya, cited, 218n.  
*vitti-vaṭṭōruva*, written statement of case by litigant, 157.  
*viyagaha*, yoke-pole for oxen, 226.  
*viya kulī*, yoke-hire, 125n.

wage-labour, 124.  
 Warnasuriya, W. M. A., 44n.  
 washermen, 31, 60, 85, 117, 122 (holding lands of blacksmiths), 136 (role in *perahāra*), 173n, 174, 184-185, 191, 192, 199 (role in weddings), 226 (role at childbirth), 253, 255, 256.

Weber, Max 10n, 11, 158n.  
 weight, measures of, 89-90.  
 Weir, Alex, 261n.  
 Wet Zone, 3, 4, 41, 258, 259, 261.  
 whip-crackers of *adhikāramas*, 21.  
 White, H., 87n.  
 Wickremasinghe, A. A., 43n.  
 Wickremasinghe, D. M. de Z., 269n.  
 Wijēsīmpa, Mudaliyar, of Mātara, 96.  
 Williams, H., 268n.  
 Wirtz, Paul, 80n, 227n.  
 women, employed in royal store, 52.  
 Woolf, Leonard, 259n.  
 Wright, Herbert, 24n, 45n, 50n, 51n, 53n, 55n, 56n, 71n, 105n, 118, 124n, 125, 125n, 127-133 (quoted on emoluments of *disāva* of Sabara-gamuva), 127n, 267.  
*yahana*, platform, 262.  
*yakā*, (Skt. *yaksha*). "The Yakshas in Ceylon writings are a class of superhuman beings devoted to the arts of music and dancing but, unfortunately, with a malevolent disposition towards men. The belief among the Ceylon Buddhists

is that, in order to make the island safe for human beings, the *yakshas* were dispelled by the Buddha, as narrated in . . . Mahavamsa. But large numbers of *yakshas* remained to be dealt with by Vijaya . . . who, in his turn, has left not a few for the benefit of the practitioners of demonology." (Paranavitana), 84.  
*yakshayō karana leḍa*, diseases caused by demons, 227.  
 Yakkun-naṭṭanavā, 174n.  
*yala*, the lesser harvest, 244.  
*yala*, measure of surface = 12 *amū-nams*, q.v.  
*yānkaranavā*, to heap up paddy for germination, 80.  
*yātikāva*, address to gods, prayer, 246, 262.  
 Yaṭinuvara, 19, 24, 31, 51n, 107n, 114, 185.  
*yehili-lēli*, q.v.  
*yeladakada*, v. *kada*.  
*yōdha-āla*, canal, 242.  
*yōduna* (Skt. *yōjana*), a measure of distance = 4 *gav* (q.v.), or about 16 miles, 87.  
 Yogārnavaya, 87n, 89n.



SINHALESE  
SOCIAL  
ORGANIZATION

---

RALPH PIERIS

